The Outlook

DECEMBER 15, 1920

PRESIDENT WILSON'S FINAL ANNUAL MESSAGE

SUPPORTED by his "third leg," as he called his cane, President Wilson, receiving committees of the House and Senate under the chairmanship of Senator Lodge, was notified on Monday, December 6, that Congress had convened. Instead of responding by a visit to the Capitol in person, as has been his general custom, the President, still physically weakened by his serious illness, sent his Message on Tuesday to be read, as the Messages of most other Presidents have been.

There is a pathetic interest in this communication, inasmuch as it comes from one who within a few months was greeted throughout western Europe as the spokesman of a new age and who has since not only suffered physically from illness but has seen his Administration rejected and his party defeated at the polls.

On the very day on which his Message was delivered came the news that the Norwegian Storthing's Committee had awarded to him—the third American recipient, Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Root being the other two—the Nobel Peace Prize.

Quoting the sentence of Lincoln's, "Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us do our duty as we understand it," President Wilson gave his tribute to the faith that won the war, and pronounced it to be "the mission upon which democracy came into the world." He defined democracy in the following sentence:

> Democracy is an assertion of the right of the individual to live and to be treated justly as against any attempt on the part of any combination of individuals to make laws which will overburden him or which will destroy his equality among his fellows in the matter of right or privilege, and I think we all realize that the day has come when democracy is being put upon its final test.

Declaring that the Old World was suffering from a wanton rejection of the principles of democracy, leaving it uncertain whether he referred to Bolshevism or to some other aspect of European development, the President stated that there were two ways by which the United States could lead in the attempt to make the spirit of democracy prevail: first, by giving an example of the will and power of democracy to make and enforce just and equal laws; and, second, by standing for right and justice toward other nations, particularly the weak.

The specific legislative recommendations which he made for legislation he offered as a means for showing the "recuperative force of a great government of the people."

Among these recommendations are a budget system, free from the Constitutional objection which led him to veto the Budget Bill at the last session of Congress; rigid economy made necessary by the fact that seven and a half billions of war indebtedness matures within the next two and a half years and that the hundreds of millions of dollars paid to the railways is a drain upon the treasury; revision of the tax laws particularly in the matter of simplification; measures for the relief and rehabilitation of the victims of the war; laws for the control of storage of food, and even for the labeling of storage food with price marks; a loan to Armenia to be expended by a commission to see that the money should not go for revolutionary purposes; and the granting of independence to the Philippines.

The President did not mention the League of Nations in his Message or express any condemnation of those who have opposed him.

As in many other instances, the President's statements of general principles are likely to be accepted or rejected as they are applied to particular cases. It is not certain exactly what the President had in mind in some of these general statements, but his ability to phrase his statements in persuasive language is evident in this Message, as in many other of his utterances.

It is doubtful whether Congress will agree with all his recommendations, though none of them, except perhaps his recommendation of Philippine independence, partake of a partisan character. On the subject of Philippine independence the recommendation of the President was made doubtless without expectation that his advice would be followed, for that is a policy especially advocated by the Democratic party, and after its defeat it does not seem likely that its policy on this subject will be followed by its opponents.

SENATOR HARDING IN PANAMA

SENATOR HARDING by his trip to Panama has performed a real service to America. Of course he went to Panama as a Senator of the United States upon recreation bent. But the overshadowing responsibility of his coming office gave to his trip an aspect of National importance. While he observed all the niceties of his present official position, he was in truth really an ambassador of the coming Administration to the sensitive little Republic through whose territory passes the great Panama Canal.

Apparently Senator Harding found the authorities of this Republic disturbed over the fear that their sovereignty would ultimately be destroyed by the encroachments of the United States. Reports from Panama indicate that Senator Harding, without in any way transgressing the bounds of convention, did much to allay this fear and to help establish a more cordial feeling in Panama towards America.

One of the problems which will confront Mr. Harding's Administration is the strengthening of the defenses of the Panama Canal. Absolutely necessary for the defense of the Canal is the possession and fortification by American forces of Taboga Island, which lies off the Pacific entrance of the Canal some fifteen miles. Panama has so far refused to cede or lease this island to the United States. As a tangible result of Senator Harding's visit the next Administration may find it easier to secure the desired rights to this island in a manner acceptable to the just pride of the Panama Government and without creating ill feeling to react upon our whole relationship with Latin America.

SENATOR HARDING'S VALEDICTORY

FOR the first time in American history the United States Senate, on Monday, December 6, greeted one of its own members as President-elect. What circumstances and what tendencies in American thought have kept the Senate from becoming a training ground for Presidents form a broad subject for speculation and for study. The precedent has now been broken.

Senator Harding, on his return from

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his trip to the Panama Canal Zone, went to the Capitol on the reassembling of the Senate for the short session which ends on the 4th of next March. Those who have visited the Senate galleries know the quiet and dignified informality in which Senators move into the Senate chamber from the cloak-rooms and stroll out again. Senator Harding on this occasion appeared as informally as other Senators gathering for the roll-call. He was greeted by applause from both the galleries and from his fellow-Senators, and, contrary to the usual procedure, those participating were not called to order by the presiding officer.

At the suggestion of Senator Lodge, the leader of the majority in the Senate, Senator Harding was asked to address the Senate. His speech was very simple. It lacked both oratorical display, on the one hand, and on the other all affectation of modesty. He expressed his reluctance at leaving the Senate, and his personal preference for membership in it to any other office in the Republic. "I like the freedom," he said, "the association, the patriotic sense of responsibility which abides here."

He promised as President to be mindful of the Senate's responsibilities, but to be equally insistent about the responsibilities of the Executive. "Our Governmental good fortune," he explained, "does not lie in any surrender at either end of the avenue, but in the co-ordination and co-operation which becomes the two in a great and truly representative popular government." He termed the alleged "Senatorial oligarchy" "a bit of highly imaginative and harmless fiction." He asked for the co-operation of the members of the Senate on both sides of the house. Recognizing the right of the opposing party to be "sometimes insistently wrong," he expressed his hope for helpfulness of the opposite side, which he had found one of the sources of delight in his past service in the Senate.

He asked in particular that the remaining three months of the present Administration should be made by the House and the Senate "fruitful rather than wasteful months."

Among the signs of promise for better days ahead not the least is the partly instinctive and partly deliberative intent of Mr. Harding to foster in public action the spirit of co-operation.

THE DUTY OF CONGRESS

SENATOR HARDING'S plea for a fruitful session of Congress was not at all a conventional request. Ordinarily the short session of Congress that marks the close of a defeated party's Administration accomplishes little except the passage of the necessary appropriation bills for the ensuing fiscal year. There is reason, however, for hoping that other measures of significance will now be debated, put into shape, and passed.

In the first place, on the opening day the House Immigration Committee ordered an immediately favorable report on the bill introduced by Representative Albert Johnson prohibiting immigration into the United States for a period of two years, the measure to become effective sixty days after the enactment.

Second, on the following day a resolution was reported to the Senate asking for the revival of the War Finance Corporation and the authorization of action by the Federal Reserve Board, both permitting the extension of liberal credits to farmers. The present distress existing among the farmers because of their inability to market their products at prices equaling the cost of production and the inability of banks further to extend credit will cause attention to be paid to this resolution.

Third, there is the budget bill. It is true that in the House of Representatives the first act was a report concerning the formation of the single Budget Committee authorized at the last session, and this Committee will do much in co-ordinating the annual budget as submitted by the Secretary of the Treasury. But when we consider the complicated character of the budget submitted by Secretary Houston, the immediate necessity of having, not merely a Budget Committee, but a scientific budget system with its consequent clarification and economy, is evident. Senator Smoot, an authority on finance, declares that a billion dollars can be taken out of the Administration's estimates, and Mr. Fordney, Chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, says that he could "go down the list of estimates and chop out a billion and a quarter, approximately, as unnecessary."

In the next place, Congress may and should also repeal certain war legislation now obsolete. Many war-time laws, such as the Trading-with-the-Enemy Act, must continue in force until we are formally at peace with Germany. But Congress should provide that all possible restrictive legislation deemed necessary for the war be done away with, so that the Nation's trade and commerce can be adjusted to actual peace conditions.

Finally, there is the dreadful tax situation. Perhaps a tax measure cannot be passed at this short session. That, however, will not excuse Congress from any failure to study the matter in committee so that when the Sixty-seventh Congress is summoned in extra session next spring the preparatory work of tax reform will have been completed.

THE "OPEN DOOR"

BAINBRIDGE COLBY, the present Secretary of State, thus defines a principle animating the Government:

> It is of the utmost importance to the future peace of the world that alien territory, transferred as a result of the war, . . . should be held and administered in such a way as to assure equal treatment to the commerce and to the citizens of all nations.

On November 20 Mr. Colby replied to the note of August 9 from Earl Curzon, British Foreign Secretary. Lord Curzon had discussed the equality of commercial treatment in Mesopotamia. Sovereignty over Mesopotamia had been transferred by treaty from Turkey to the League of Nations, and the League gave a mandate to Great Britain for its administration. Lord Curzon maintained that the British Government had refrained from exploiting the oil resources of Mesopotamia; instead it had conducted operations for purely military purposes under army supervision and at army expense. He declared that the resources were to be secured to the people of the state to be established there.

Mr. Colby now inquires as to the agreement entered into by the Powers last April at San Remo (by which, of the prospective oil output in Mesopotamia, approximately half would go to Great Britain, a quarter to France, and a quarter to the future Arab state). He asks how any "equal treatment" statement harmonizes with Lord Curzon's other statement that concessions under the former Turkish régime "still remain in their pre-war position and have yet to receive with the establishment of the Arab state the equitable consideration promised by his Majesty's Government"? Finally, he inquires concerning the statement that "any private company which may develop the Mesopotamian oil-fields shall be under permanent British control." He concludes as to these things:

> I have alluded to them in order to correct confusing inferences, liable to arise from certain departures, which I believe I discern in your Lordship's communication, from the underlying principles of a mandate as evolved and sought to be applied by the Allied and Associated Powers to the territories brought under their temporary do-

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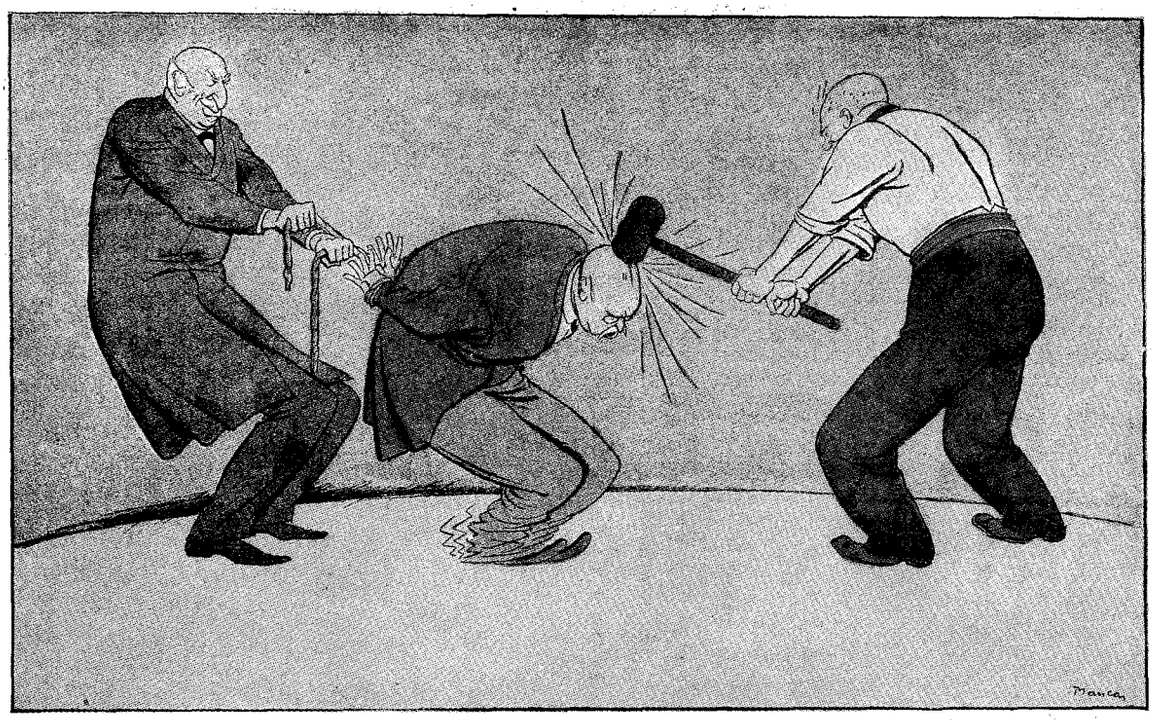
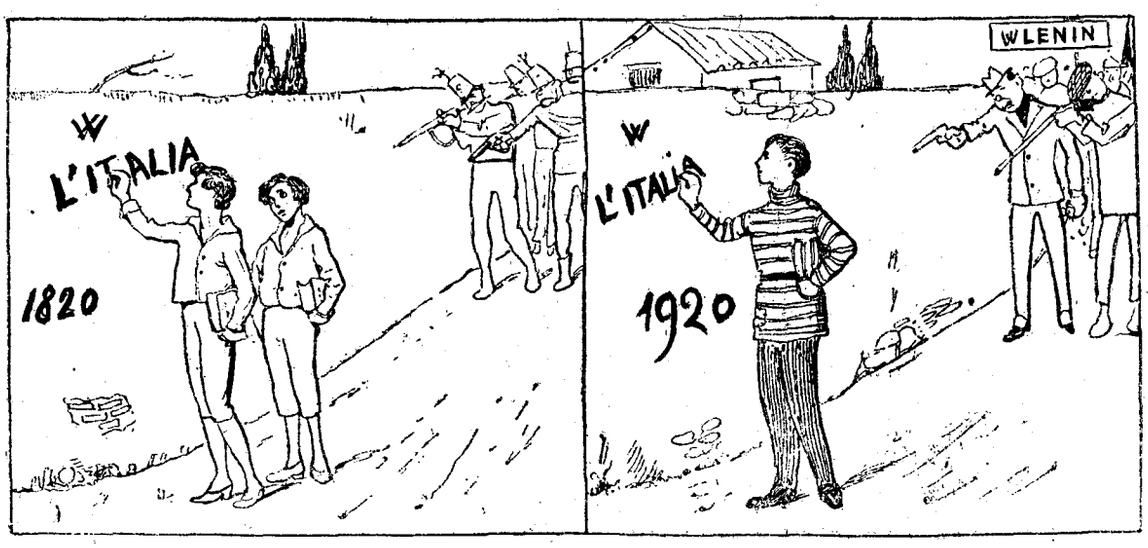
ITALIAN VIEWS OF ITALY'S TROUBLES



From "Pasquino," of Turin

GIOLITTI (ITALY'S PREMIER) IS PICTURED AS SAYING, APROPOS OF THE TERMS OF AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE MANUFACTURERS AND THE SYNDICALISTS: "WITH MY WELL-KNOWN IMPARTIALITY I AM SOLVING THE PROBLEM"



From "Il 420," of Florence

IN MILAN, MANTUA, BRESCIA, ETC., DURING THE AUSTRIAN OCCUPATION

IN TURIN, AFTER A CENTURY OF AUSTRIAN DOMINATION, DURING THE OCCUPATION BY WORKINGMEN

(A cartoon suggested by the murder of a schoolboy by Syndicalists. The crossed Vs in the pictures stand for Viva !)

From "Il 420," of Florence

Turati, the Italian Socialist leader (quoting Dante to the radical extremists who are turning from the sun of Socialism to the specter of Bolshevism and want), says: "Comrades, remember that 'he who leaves the old way for the new finds himself betrayed'"

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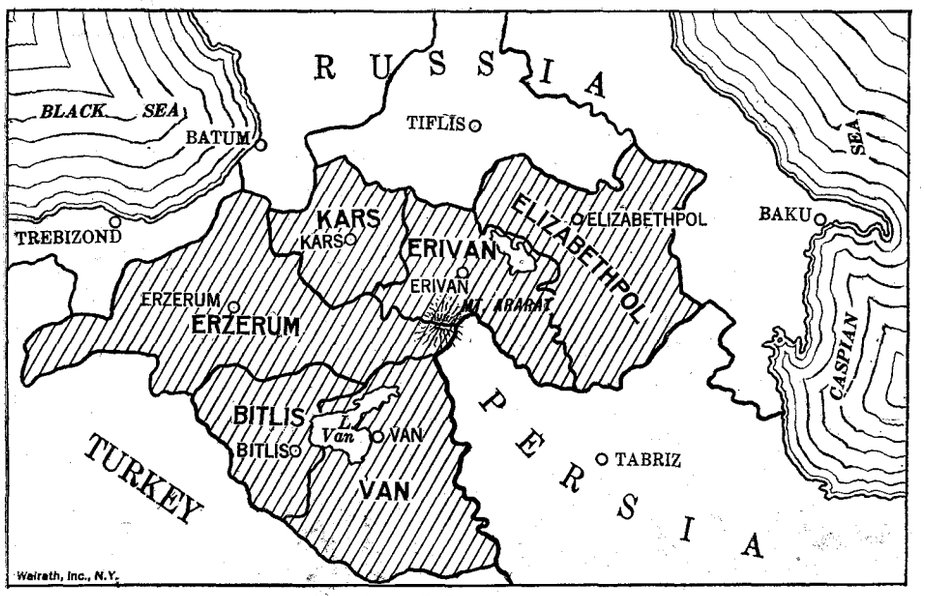

TURKISH AND RUSSIAN ARMENIA

minion. . . . This dominion will be wholly misconceived, not to say abused, if there is even the slightest deviation from the spirit and the exclusive purpose of trusteeship as strict as it is comprehensive.

To the British contention that, as we are not a member of the League, therefore we cannot interfere, Mr. Colby contends that the United States, as a participant in the war, cannot "be barred from the discussion of any of its consequences."

GERMANY AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

THE German Government has sent an official note to the Assembly of the League of Nations, now in session at Geneva. The Government declares that it no longer considers itself bound to the clause of the Versailles Treaty by which it surrenders German colonies to the Allies. Its reason is that it has not been admitted to the League councils at any time, and consequently has taken no part in the allotment of the mandates for the colonies! If the German Government had a sense of humor, it might have noted that a precedent condition of membership in the League, as laid down in the League charter, prescribed that each state shall give "effective guaranties of its sincere intention to observe its international obligations." Germany's record in this respect is hardly impressive! Even if it were good, the Government might have read that clause in the Versailles Treaty by which Germany renounces in favor of the Allies all her rights and titles over her overseas possessions. The German colonies were not transferred to the League, but specifically to the Allies.

As the Assembly paid no attention to the note, the Germans tried another method of getting attention. This was to announce that they did not wish membership in a league where they would not be sympathetically received, and that they were already aware of the implacable opposition of certain of the members; at the same time they recognized that the League in order to be effective must be universal—a peace league pure and simple, not a league for the imposition of force.

This excited still less interest. Hence, whether instigated by Germany or not, the coincidence is curious that the German conception of a peace league pure and simple, as against a league to enforce the Versailles Treaty, should have been brought forward by a young delegate from Argentina, Honorio Pueyrredon, spokesman of the delegation. His proposition was that all recognized governments should automatically be considered members of the League. This the League rejected. Whereupon Señor Pueyrredon decided that he would not attend any more meetings and would leave Geneva. Doubtless he thought that other delegations might follow his example. But none did.

Comment on this action is interesting. The German press threw off all disguise. The "Deutsche-Zeitung" professed that other nations would soon follow "the example set by this honorable and independent challenge to the tyranny of Great Britain," and the Berlin "Tages-Zeitung" declared: "The League now stands revealed in all its nakedness. Millerand, Leygues, Lloyd George, Curzon, and the rest can proclaim themselves an unholy alliance for the prevention of the real reconstruction of the world."

At the other extreme, the London "Chronicle," which generally reflects the opinions of Mr. Lloyd George, affirmed: "For a member of the League unconditionally to join and then retire the moment its fellow-members delay to transform the League at its bidding is not playing the game." Even "La Nación," one of the principal papers of Argentina, declared the position of the Argentine delegation impossible, that it had become the "champion of the German disaster" and had succeeded "in making us participants in that disaster."

THE TURK ON TOP AGAIN

MUSTAPHA KEMAL PASHA is a man who does things. Long before the Turkish treaty was signed at Sèvres, anticipating its destruction of the Turkish Empire, he undertook to rally the irreconcilables to his rebel standard. In opposition to the Government of Constantinople he established his own Government at Angora, in Asia Minor. He proceeded to fight the troops sent out by the Government, and also the British troops in the north of Asia Minor and the Greek troops in the east. Discomfited by them, he attacked the French in the south with greater success and the Armenians in the east with complete success. He drove the Armenians eastward out of Turkish Armenia, chiefly the provinces of Erzerum, Bitlis, and Van.

On the accompanying map, which shows these provinces, it may be noted that the most important Armenian cities, whether of Turkey or Russia, bear the same names as the provinces.

The Armenians, fleeing into Russian Armenia (the provinces of Kars, Erivan, and Elizabethpol), were opposed at first by Russian Bolsheviki. It seemed as if their condition was hopeless. War and starvation had wiped out half of the former Armenian population.

As their condition appealed to general sympathy, the Assembly invited the Council of the League, which is also in session at Geneva, to arrive at an understanding with the Powers with a view to intrusting to a Power the task of taking necessary measures to stop the Armenian slaughter. Assuring us that its proposal involved no repetition of the invitation to accept a mandate for the administration of Armenia, the Council thereupon offered to President Wilson the opportunity of undertaking the special task proposed by the Assembly. The President accepted and replied:

I am without authorization to offer or employ the military forces of the United States. . . . I am willing, how-

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ever, upon assurances of the moral and diplomatic support of the principal Powers . . . to use my good offices and to proffer my personal mediation, through a representative whom I may designate, to end the hostilities now being waged against the Armenian people.

There is nothing novel in the action of President Wilson in agreeing to be a mediator between Armenia and Turkey. Mediation between warring nations is not a new principle. It is a commonplace of international relations, and is not dependent upon the existence of any world organization. President Roosevelt acted as mediator in bringing Japan and Russia together at the Portsmouth Conference. The only bearing the League of Nations has on this Turco-Armenian mediation is that it was from the League that the request came to President Wilson.

Mustapha, however, has lost no time in making plain that he would not welcome mediation unless it suggested a remaking in his favor of the Turkish treaty. He emphasized this by concluding, as reported, an alliance with Lenine at Moscow, which assures financial and military help in restoring prewar Turkish territory, in return for which the Bolsheviki are to obtain facilities for their propaganda in Turkey, Lenine and Mustapha pledging themselves to continue hostilities against the Allies.

International
MUSTAPHA KEMAL, LEADER OF THE TURKISH NATIONALISTS

IS CONSTANTINE A LUXURY OR A NECESSITY?

THE Greek King Constantine was guilty of "hostile acts" during the war, to quote from the recent note issued by the British, French, and Italian Governments. Hence they were "painfully surprised" by his victory in the Greek election in November; in their opinion, the victory amounted to a ratification of those hostile acts. "A new and unfavorable situation" was thus created, and with regard to it the Powers reserved to themselves "complete liberty."

Wide World Photos
VENIZELOS, ON A BALCONY, ADDRESSING A CROWD IN ATHENS AFTER HIS DEFEAT IN THE RECENT ELECTIONS

As this general warning did not seem to alarm the Greeks greatly, the Powers followed it by specifically announcing two things: first, that in the event of Constantine's return they would withdraw financial support from Greece, and, second, would reconsider territorial adjustment.

As to the first, after the disastrous war with Turkey (1897) the Greeks were saved by the so-called "guaranteeing Powers," who in 1898 imposed a Law of Control. Under it they established at Athens, in direct relation to the Greek Minister of Finance, a financial commission of delegates representing the Powers. To this commission were assigned, for payment on the interest of the external debt, the revenues from salt, petroleum, and other monopolies, the tobacco and other duties. The present declaration means not only the withdrawal of future foreign loans from Greece, but also the withdrawal by the Powers of any authorization to Greece to issue new currency.

As to territorial adjustment, Constantine—doubtless with the wish to curry favor with Great Britain—declares, as reported: "Greece is no traitor. We shall conquer Smyrna and be prepared to fight the Turks." But Smyrna is conquered already. Venizelos saw to that. And he provided that Greece should not only be prepared to fight the Turks, but that she should conquer them, as she did all along the line separating that part of Asia Minor inhabited by Greece from the part inhabited by Turks, a boundary assigned by the Turkish Treaty. Even were this not so, can Constantine do much in Asia Minor if the farmers of Thessaly, who voted for him and against Venizelos in the November election, really voted so because they wanted the army demobilized and their sons brought back to get out the crops?

And now Greece has had a December election. As the November election called for a decision between the issues of the "crowned Republic" or the very much crowned monarchy, so the December election decided the particular question as to whether Constantine himself should return. By a mighty majority, Powers or no Powers, the Greeks voted "Yes." For Constantine this is apparently an immense triumph. Personally popular and now a fairly able general, he puts himself at the head of the Greeks, who resent foreign interference.

But he must walk warily to avoid trespassing on the rights of the Guaranteeing Powers, without whom there would have been no Greece. Can he ever walk as acceptably as Venizelos did during the past few years? If not, the Greeks may find their King, after all, a luxury and not a necessity.

ADMIRAL VON SCHEER'S GLORIOUS VICTORY

WHEN the battle of Jutland, in which the High Sea Fleet of Germany became engaged with the Grand Fleet of Great Britain, was

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ended, German war-vessels were back in their base behind their defenses and British war-vessels retained their privilege of moving at will through the high seas. If we were to believe not only the Germans but also some other narrators of that event, we would accept this battle as a great German victory. Admiral von Scheer made a report concerning it which has only recently been published. As this report was made to the Kaiser, it naturally does not understate the facts that seem favorable to Germany.

Even if we grant as verified all the claims that the Germans make in their own favor, even if it is conceded that the British losses were much greater than the German losses (Admiral von Scheer's report puts his own losses at 60,000 tons and the British losses at 169,000 tons), even if all the criticism that has been made of the British strategy in the battle were to be accepted as justified, the facts remain that Great Britain retained control of the sea and that Germany failed to weaken that control in any particular.

If there is any consolation for the supporters of a football team which is beaten by a decisive score to count up the yards gained in rushing and in punting and to discover thereby that the team with the smaller score gained a greater number of yards, if there is any consolation to be found by the supporters of a defeated Presidential candidate in the moral victory secured by those who cast their ballot for their convictions though the ballots on the other side outnumbered them, there may be consolation for the Germans in the facts concerning the battle of Jutland. But those who count victory on the football field by the score of the game and who count victories in elections by the majority of the votes will continue to believe that moral victories in war such as the Germans won at the battle of Jutland are not the kind of victories which armies and navies are designed to win.

A POWER BEHIND THE THRONE

FRANCIS LYNDE STETSON is dead in his seventy-fifth year. His name was not often in newspaper headlines. He sought no public office. He was not what is known as a "National character." But he was a real force in making America as we know it.

He was a great lawyer and he had a genius for making friends. This combination attracted the attention of the late William C. Whitney, who caused Mr. Stetson to be appointed Assistant Corporation Counsel while Mr. Whitney was at the head of New York City's legal department. When Mr. Stetson left the Corporation Counsel's office, his ability had attracted the attention of another lawyer, Francis M. Bangs, doubtless the leading man in his profession in the metropolis until the rise of James C. Carter and Joseph H. Choate. The firm of Bangs and Stetson, succeeded by that of Stetson, Jennings, and Russell, became one of the most generally known among lawyers throughout the country because of the acumen and skill brought to corporation work. Much important railway litigation and industrial organization in America has been managed in the office of the Stetson firm. Mr. Stetson himself was organizer of the United States Steel Corporation, and from its inception was its general counsel. He was also general counsel for the Northern Pacific, the Erie, and the Southern Railway Companies, the International Mercantile Marine Company, and other large organizations.

In the famous Tilden-Hayes controversy Mr. Stetson served as counsel for Mr. Tilden—he had been Governor Tilden's secretary at Albany. During the interval between his terms as President Grover Cleveland became Mr. Stetson's law partner. Perhaps more than any other man Mr. Stetson was the power behind the throne in the Cleveland Administrations, especially the second. When it was a question whether the Government could maintain gold payments, he upheld the President in remaining true to the Tilden traditions of anti-inflation and hard money.

Mr. Stetson's was a lifelong devotion to the Tilden-Whitney-Cleveland Democracy; he exhibited the rugged independence which distinguished it. For instance, in the attempt to elect Mr. Sheehan to the Senate in 1911 Mr. Stetson declared:

> Though I may be one of those Democrats who have . . . occasionally voted the Republican ticket, I am also one of those who have voted the Democratic ticket whenever permitted and allowed by the organization to do so with self-respect. . . . I repudiate absolutely the suggestion that a Democrat, convinced that his party or his country will be injured by the adoption of a certain course, is in honor bound to vote for the adoption of that course because of caucus and convention control. The strength and hope of the party is in the adoption of principles and candidates who will represent and command the willing spirit of the entire party and not in the coerced statement of any of its members.

Those who have attended a Commencement at Williams College or a convention of the Episcopal Church, at both of which Mr. Stetson was invariably to be seen, were conscious of his power in other directions. He was graduated from Williams with the class of 1867, along with Hamilton Wright Mabie, Henry Loomis Nelson, Governor Dole, of Hawaii, and Stanley Hall, late of Clark University. Williams College has had no more real benefactor than Mr. Stetson, who gave to it unostentatiously not only great sums of money but, what was far more precious, his time and counsel as trustee. In the Episcopal Conventions Mr. Stetson's influence was equally evident; he it was who framed the canon on marriage and divorce; for many years he had been senior warden of the Church of the Incarnation of New York City. A director in many educational and philanthropical societies, his power was made doubly effective because of the modesty of manner with which it was exercised.

THE GREEKS AGAIN BEARING GIFTS

JUST recently a harmless-looking paragraph from Washington has been going the rounds of the press of the country. Various organizations, including the American Constitutional League and the Maryland League for State Defense, and incidentally the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage and the National Association Opposed to Prohibition, are joined in a drive for a Federal amendment "to restore the rights of the people" by taking away from legislatures the power hereafter to ratify Federal amendments. Hereafter, they contend, a State should be recorded for a Federal amendment only after there is a favorable popular vote in the form of a referendum.

What could be more plausible, democratic, and alluring? Already certain liberal organs of opinion seem to be attracted by it. Witness the editorial view of the New York "Tribune." This is the substance of it: There is a steady drift towards more direct democratic action. If the people are to rule, why should their rule filter through a legislature?

If there is one thing in which the wisdom of the fathers in the Constitution really shines, it is in the method which they laid down for the adoption of amendments. The Federal Constitution virtually provides for a referendum already by assembly and senatorial districts in every State. Except in those

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cases in which a legislature acts upon a Federal amendment without an intervening election of the legislators, the battle is fought on every vital issue before the amendment comes to passage in the legislature at all. Thus the recent Suffrage and Prohibition Amendments were determined in public opinion in many hundreds of assembly and senatorial districts in every State in the Union before these questions were finally determined in the legislatures of the commonwealths.

And this method of piecemeal referendum, here a little and there a little, until in a majority of these small and neighborly units a decision is reached, is a far safer and more sanely democratic method of obtaining the popular will upon vital issues than the proposed plan of a single State-wide referendum before the legislature acts.

Nobody is afraid of the will of the people in America, provided it is the deliberate will, arrived at after reflection and accurate information. The method of referendum by assembly and senatorial districts which the fathers of the Constitution laid down has the great merit of giving time for the popular mind to adjust itself to true information and sound principle. It gives time for the sifting out of mere propagandism for or against an issue. It gives time for deliberate decision.

Every thoughtful person is afraid of the will of the people when it is an impulsive and unreflective will. The proposed method of a single State-wide referendum on Federal amendments has exactly this peril at the heart of it. It gives no opportunity for the sifting ont of propaganda in small units like the assembly and senatorial districts, and for the give and take of neighborly arguments extending over a considerable period of time. It gives only opportunity for prejudice and impulse and misinformation and sentimentality and all the baser factors which operate upon public opinion to do their damaging work.

It is probable that some of these organizations which are backing this innovation against the wisdom of the fathers of the Constitution are hoping for an easy way back out of the suffrage and prohibition *impasse* in which they find themselves. But the practice is far more to be feared as a means of the general employment of the impulsive mass mind in America at a period in the history of the world when, above all others, caution and reflection and adequate information are sheet anchors of democracy.

Those who have long contended that the free use of the referendum would some day become the urgent demand of the apostles of reaction in this country can find justification for their fears in the present movement. The referendum has its uses, but it should be employed sparingly. It may be employed to good advantage as a club behind the door, when in critical times representative government fails the electorate. But as a regular method of action upon statutory measures or Constitutional amendments, in advance of action by the legislature, it at first stirs the mind of the electorate to function impulsively, and if the process is continued too often the popular mind registers negatively on nearly everything, because it becomes wearied and does not understand. This is the story of the referendum in its flower, for example, in the State of Oregon. Either result, the impulsive or the negative, satisfies reaction better than the calm, deliberate form of referendum now in the Federal Constitution. Beware of the Greeks bearing gifts of freedom to the electorate!

UNAMERICAN AMERICANS

ON December 4, Mrs. MacSwiney, widow of Terence MacSwiney, the Lord Mayor of Cork, who died from suicide by starvation in an English prison, arrived in the port of New York. She came on a British liner, and received during the voyage all the courtesy and consideration which the officers of a steamship would naturally extend to any passenger suffering from a personal grief which was at the same time a matter of international moment. She was met in the harbor by a police boat owned by New York City, carrying a large welcoming committee and flying the flags of America and of the so-called Irish Republic.

It is with no lack of sympathy for the personal tragedy in Mrs. MacSwiney's life that The Outlook points out the gross impropriety involved in so employing a public vessel of an American municipality.

The impropriety consists in the fact that those who hoisted the Sinn Fein flag did so not as Americans but as Irishmen. It was no mere generous sympathy with a foreign and down-trodden people which prompted the act. It was the deed of men who placed the advantage of a foreign faction above those National interests confided to them for protection and preservation. It was an act of dissentious partisanship and a disgrace to the Americanism of those responsible for it.

America has had many similar violations of its fundamental principles at the hands of Irish sympathizers within the last few years. The official welcome which De Valera, the so-called President of the Irish Republic, has received at the hands of many American mayors affords perhaps the most striking and offensive example of a hyphenated Americanism as repugnant to American traditions as anything which pro-Germans promoted in the days before we entered the war. De Valera, claiming that he is waging war upon Great Britain, has been using America as a base for his attacks upon a Power friendly to the United States. While his misguided adherents have been dying on Irish soil, De Valera has violated the hospitality of our shores by uttering, at a safe distance of three thousand miles from the scene of disorder he is endeavoring to create, flamboyant pronunciamentos of a highly objectionable character.

We hope that the next Federal Administration will have the courage to prevent Irish sympathizers from betraying the good name and faith of America.

FEAR

THE actor was speaking. "I had a great fear the other night. I went on the stage and began thinking of my line beyond the immediate line, and for the life of me I could not remember it. I thought softening of the brain must be my approaching doom. I had been working hard; it was a long run we were having, and my rôle was one of the most exacting of my career. I am not so young as I was, and I saw, as in a terrible vision, my family forced to earn their own living through my sudden incompetence. No stage fright ever equaled my terror. Such a fear had never come over me before. Why should it seize me now?"

The Young-Old Philosopher was interested. "Your experience is a universal one, my dear sir," he said. "We all, at one time or another, know these moments of anguish in whatever art we strive to express our poor selves. The writer who wonders if he will ever be able to think of a plot beyond the story he is just finishing is in a similar case with you. The painter who sees only blank canvases staring him in the face in all the future years—how poignant, how sharp, is his anguish! The minister often lies awake nights won-

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dering if his thoughts for sermons will last him his allotted span. We all suffer through these foolish, these needless fears.

"But the reason is very simple. You did not learn your part by committing to memory the lines four speeches ahead—or even only one speech ahead. You put it in your mind one speech at a time. You played blocks with the manuscript. Then, in some moment when you are nervously tired, your active brain (because you are an artist) races ahead, for all its weariness, and tries to leap hurdles it was never meant to encounter until it came to them. You suddenly wish to know something that doesn't concern you in the least—not yet; and your exhausted brain cells rebel at the quick claim made upon them. You collapse. You think you're going mad—or are due for a complete nervous breakdown at least.

"Every one of us makes the mistake of worrying about a to-morrow which, when it comes, is no more filled with terror than to-day. Our training has been for this hour—the human mind cannot encompass that which doesn't exist. You might as well bother over next spring's daffodils as to weep over to-morrow morning's weather.

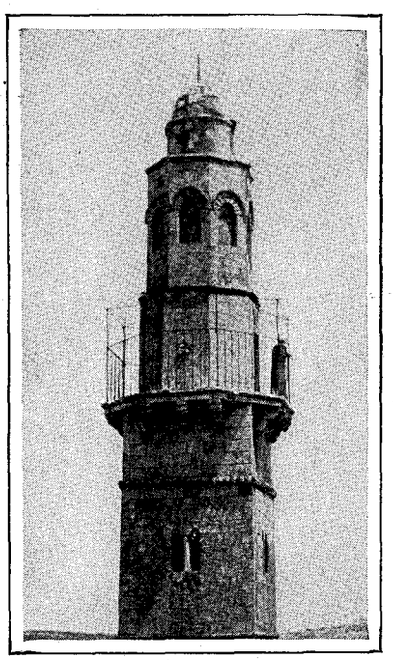
"Oh, the hurdles we needlessly jump! There were those dark pessimists who prophesied that the recent World War would go on for thirty years. Heaven knows it was long enough, and had we been informed in the beginning of its duration perhaps few of us could have stood the strain. But mercifully such facts are withheld from us, and the old wonder and beauty are coming back to life. The moon goes her serene way though the guns of conflict roar, and peace, twenty hurdles beyond, waits for weary mankind.

"My ideas day after to-morrow will not be those of this morning, so why waste my energy in a sad appraisal of a self that will be changed perhaps within the space of twenty-four hours?

"One thing at a time—and happiness. Glimpses ahead—terror! Take your choice."

THE TURKS ON TRIAL

BY ELEANOR MARKELL



"THE MUEZZINS STILL CALL THE FAITHFUL TO PRAYER"

OUTWARDLY Constantinople seems much the same as before the war. The Sultan still goes to the Mosque on Fridays with the same display of troops, followed by the awed gaze of the Mussulman and the curious glances of the favored foreigners allowed to attend; the howling dervishes and the whirling dervishes still work themselves into frenzy of hypnotic trances to bring themselves into accord with Allah; the muezzins still call the faithful to prayer seven times daily from the multiple beautiful minarets; Parliament still is held and laws are enacted and the Government has just completed appointments for diplomatic posts after the resumption of relations with Entente countries; throngs from all parts of the Empire—Greek, Armenian, Anatolian, Syrian—still swarm over Galata Bridge. But all this is outward.

In reality it would be difficult to find a capital of Europe where the war has wrought so complete a change as in that of the Ottoman Empire.

A HORRIBLE MISTAKE DESPITE PROVOCATION

It is the shadow of authority which remains to the Turk in his old capital; the real power rests in the Inter-Allied Commission, whose control is very real and is felt everywhere. When you enter Galata from the old Galata Bridge, it is a British Tommy who is directing the traffic; if you sail up the Bosphorus, it is under French, Italian, and British guns. The real Turkish capital is Angora, where at last a national spirit has developed. Mustapha Kemal Pasha and his party have accomplished what the Young Turks tried and failed to do twelve years ago, namely, to weld together the Turkish nation. Mustapha Kemal Pasha is not a brigand, as he was pictured when the movement was new, but, on the contrary, a patriot who is attempting to save his country from utter disruption.

The effort came into being as a protest against the Greek occupation of Smyrna and its peaceful countryside, with crops just ready to harvest, whose through rail communication with Bagdad offered an opportunity for the shipment of its products to the East, as its water facilities did to the West. Whatever we may believe regarding the destiny of the Greeks or the Turks as the guardians of the eastern Mediterranean, there can be no doubt that the method of Greek occupation of Smyrna was a horrible mistake. Eight

"THE HOWLING DERVISHES STILL WORK THEMSELVES INTO FRENZY"

hundred Turks were killed outright, many wounded were taken to the waterside and dropped into the water alive, and other atrocities perpetrated. That the troops were given provocation cannot be questioned. Many of them had themselves been expelled from their homes in Smyrna and the surrounding country by these Turks, their places laid waste, and their mothers and wives ravished; and, moreover, the shooting was started not by the Greeks, but by the Turks, who, concealed on the housetops, sniped the officers as the troops marched through the city with their guns unslung.

But the punishment was so horrible and the results so disastrous, with the crops trodden down and ruined, with the Bagdad Railway, their sole link with the East, so destroyed that months would be required to re-establish through communication, besides the shocking loss of life, that the Kemal

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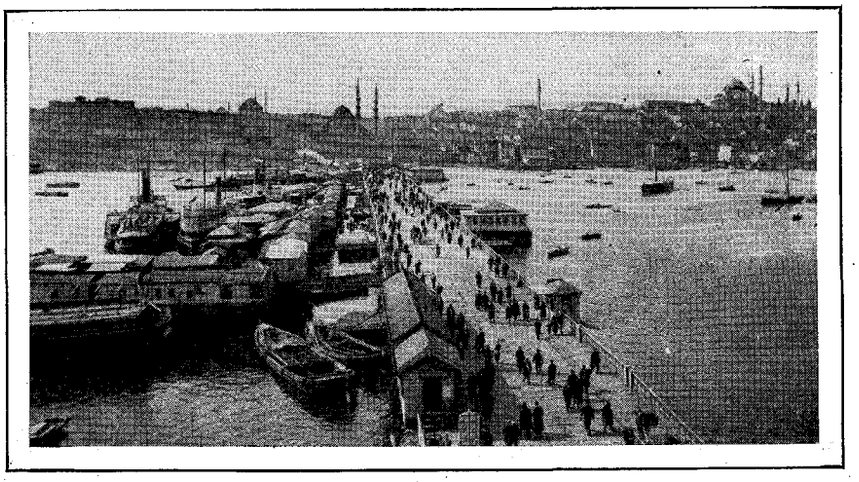
party had little difficulty in getting followers to resist the breakup of their Empire. Many former Cabinet Ministers fled from Constantinople to Angora and joined the movement, and even the recognized Turkish Government in Constantinople favored conciliatory measures toward the Angora Government; and it was rumored that the Turks would refuse to sign the death warrant of their Empire—the Peace Treaty.

It was then that the International Commission stepped in, pressure was brought to bear, a new Ministry favorable to the Entente came into power, Kemal was repudiated, and Tewfik Riza Pasha was sent to Paris at the head of a commission to sign the Treaty.



Wide World Photos

"THRONGS STILL SWARM OVER GALATA BRIDGE"

KEMAL, THE TURKS' ONLY HOPE

But the question remains: Does the Constantinople Government or that at Angora represent the Turkish nation to-day? In Constantinople I found judgment on that question among foreigners about evenly divided, and there were not lacking Turks, old leaders now out of office, who, while taking no active part in the movement, were privately willing to admit to me that the only hope for their nation lay in the Kemalist party.

That party has already lost, so far as the cause which brought them into being is concerned. The dismemberment of their Empire is in process. The western coast of Anatolia, including Smyrna, the third most important port of their empire, and Thrace, with its rich tobacco fields, estimated to be capable, under improved methods of agriculture, of raising sufficient revenue to support the Government at Athens, have gone to Greece. Syria, with Cilicia, is already occupied by the French, and Mesopotamia, with its rich oil fields, by the British. Azerbaijan and Georgia, in the Caucasus, have become independent states. Arabia has broken away, and that Armenia in some form will have an independent existence can hardly be questioned. The Greeks are even now, as I write from Athens, threatening to proceed to Angora itself.

And at the same time the Kemalist movement itself is by no means dead. Turks of all parties, with the exception of the minority which clings to the present Government, realize that their only hope as a nation lies in that movement. "Support the present Government," say the Entente, "and you shall remain in Constantinople. Repudiate our agreement, and the control at present operative in all but name will become complete." A people numbering seven millions cannot be disposed of so easily.

(C) Underwood & Underwood

MOSQUE OF ST. SOPHIA IN CONSTANTINOPLE

A FIELD OF INTRIGUE

The ideal solution as one sees it here in the East would have been for America to accept a mandate for the entire Ottoman Empire, administer justice to all of the many races impartially, introduce educational facilities as she has in the Philippines, and when the people had become sufficiently enlightened to decide their own fate, then, and not until then, to allow them so to do by plebiscites.

But America refuses to view this as the ideal solution, and the region about the Mediterranean remains, as it has been through the centuries, the field of intrigue for the Western Powers. No fair-minded outsider can wonder that the chief interest of France is the protection of the Ottoman debt, of Italy the acquiring of commercial advantages, of Britain the securing of the rich oil fields for driving her ships and the protection of the route to India.

Russia, that great potential power in this region, has yet to be reckoned with. It is not to be doubted that some time she will make another try for Constantinople, and when she does will she find in possession of this controlling position the Turk, the Greek, or one of the Western Powers at present exercising international control there?

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CURRENT EVENTS ILLUSTRATED

Kadel & Herbert

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DIFFERENT CRAFTS, DIFFERENT MANNERS

On the left we have the daughter of the Duke and Duchess of Rutland, Lady Diana Manners by name, a celebrated beauty of England. She's going into the movies under the direction of an American producer. On the right we have the Reverend Wilbur F. Crafts, of the International Reform Bureau. Mr. Crafts is not going into the movies, he's going after them, and a lot of other things too which our generation has permitted to encroach upon the " Day of Rest and Gladness "

International

BOY SCOUTS AT THE GRAVE OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT

Boy Scouts made a pilgrimage on November 26 to the grave of Theodore Roosevelt and placed wreaths and flowers on the grave, in remembrance of the great American who was once Honorary President of the Boy Scouts of America

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International

THE FUNERAL OF KING ALEXANDER OF GREECE

King Alexander's death resulted from the bite of a pet monkey. The photograph shows the body of the King being carried into a church in Athens for the funeral services. The overturn in Grecian politics resulting from the death of King Alexander was discussed at length in The Outlook of December 1

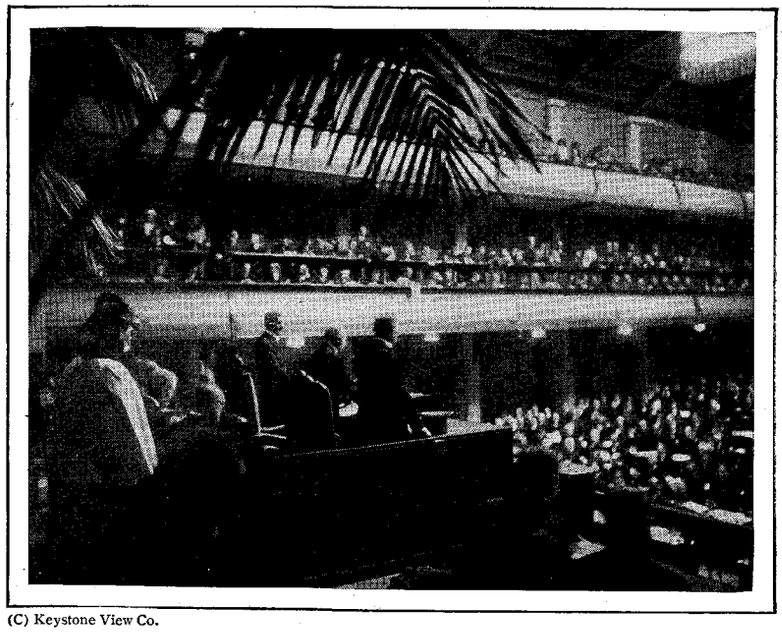
Underwood & Underwood

THE CITY HALL OF CORK, IRELAND, THE SCENE OF SINN FEIN AGITATION

The Cork City Hall was set on fire recently, reports state, during the turbulence resulting from the Sinn Fein agitation and the consequent reprisals

PRESIDENT MOTTA, OF SWITZERLAND, OPENING THE SESSIONS OF THE ASSEMBLY OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The Assembly of the League is in session at Geneva, Switzerland, and was appropriately opened by the President of that Republic



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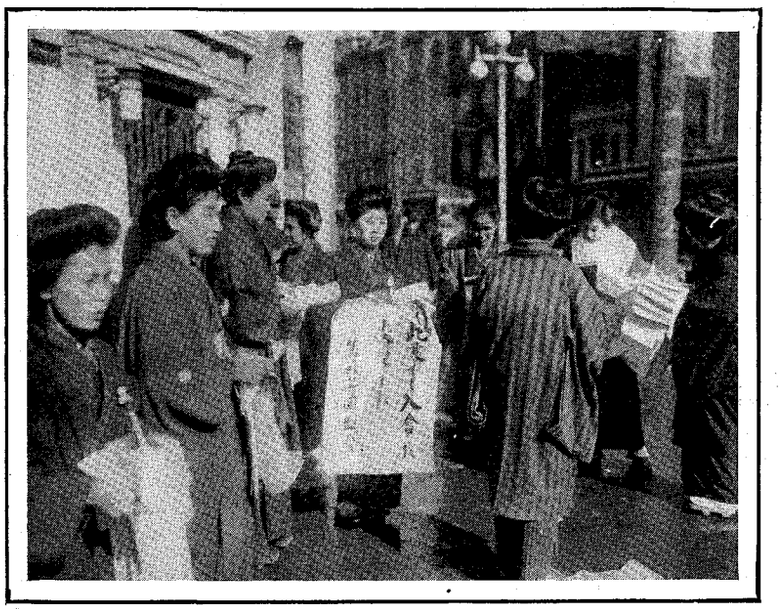
LIBERAL MOVEMENTS IN MODERN JAPAN

BY KAZUTAMI UKITA

DEAN OF THE FACULTY OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, WASEDA UNIVERSITY, JAPAN



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FOR FIVE DAYS JAPANESE YOUNG WOMEN CARRYING POSTERS PARADED THE STREETS IN A DEMONSTRATION ON BEHALF OF IMPROVING THE SALARIES PAID WOMEN WORKERS. "THE TASK OF . . . EXTENDING INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY HAS NOW BECOME A NATIONAL ISSUE IN THE FORM OF PROLETARIAN AGITATIONS AGAINST ECONOMIC DOMINATION"

THE most wonderful thing in modern history is the tendency to bind the world into one. Until only a hundred years ago there had been many worlds—Europe was the world to the Europeans; China, Korea, and Japan were worlds by themselves. Mr. Kipling could say:

> Oh, East is East and West is West, and never the twain shall meet,
> Till Earth and Sky stand presently at God's great Judgment Seat.

And the Orientals had regarded the white races as if they were different creatures, and called them "Ijin," meaning "different men." But to-day, thanks to the progress of science, interrelation between these worlds has become so close as to form a composite whole of all mankind.

OKUBO TOSHIMICHI, "THE GREATEST STATESMAN MODERN NIPPON HAS PRODUCED, WAS THE FOREMOST CHAMPION OF THE EARLY LIBERAL SCHOOL"

The immediate effect of the change has been the internationalization and cosmopolitanization of many hermit nations and races, involving necessary internal reconstructions. The modern history of Japan has been precisely the history of adjusting her peculiar philosophy, moral code, social order, national principles and ideals, etc., with those of the external world. In so doing Japan has been unconsciously assimilating the spirit of the Occidental liberalism which has been the guiding force as well as the true basis of modern European history.

Japan has tried to absorb only within the last sixty years all that has been achieved in Europe through centuries of hard toil. The attempt would have been futile had it not been for her determination and ability to realize the ambition. The task was indeed a tremendously difficult one. First of all, the time-honored social structure of feudalism had to be destroyed, and in its place must be erected a new social edifice of constitutional government. Then the Occidental modes of production and distribution of economic goods had to be adopted in place of handicraft and primitive barter. And then there remained the problem—classic problem—of harmonizing the initiative and freedom of individuals with the progress and welfare of the community.

The accomplishment of the first of these innovations corresponded much with the revolution by which the *bourgeoisie* of Europe wrung power from the hands of the aristocrats. Under the Tokugawa feudalism the people were divided into three classes: the feudal lords, the Samurai (warriors), and the *heimin* (common people). The first two classes were the flowers of Nippon, and, through the advantages of leisure and education, they formed the brains of the country. The last class was composed of farmers, artisans, and merchants, all being ignorant of affairs beyond their trades. When the external pressure forced Japan's door open and made it urgent that she should reconstruct national order, it was the Samurai class who assumed the task and responsibility. The Japanese people will forever cherish the memory of the glorious deeds of the Samurai, who with their courage and foresight led the nation safely through the dangerous labyrinth. To them the credit is due of having established the constitutional form of government upon the crumbled mass of feudalism, of establishing a system of universal education, and of successfully staving off the imperialistic strains from abroad.

DRUNK WITH SUCCESS

Intoxicated, however, with the wine of brilliant success, the Samurai began to abuse the power and prestige so worthily acquired by forming a caste or bureaucracy, monopolizing in their own hands nearly all high posts of the state and looking down upon the rest as subjects. The bureaucracy has been permeated with the spirit of militarism, due to the fact that it is composed of warriors and that its prestige chiefly lay in military prowess against China and Russia. Accordingly, the internal as well as the external policies of Japan came to wear the increasingly deeper color of militarism. To be sure, there has existed since the time of the Restoration a liberal school among the Samurai opposing the militaristic school. Okubo, the greatest statesman modern Nippon has produced, was the foremost champion of the early liberal school. His unfortunate premature death by assassination was an irrevocable loss to Japan. Prince Ito resembled Okubo in political ideals, and it is to him that Japan owes whatever liberal elements there are in her national system. There are to-day not a few influential statesmen who belong to the school of Ito and who believe that the future welfare of the Empire lies in the democratization of the country by disparaging the influence of the military chieftains, and the number of these statesmen is decidedly on the increase. Yet so powerful has been the foothold

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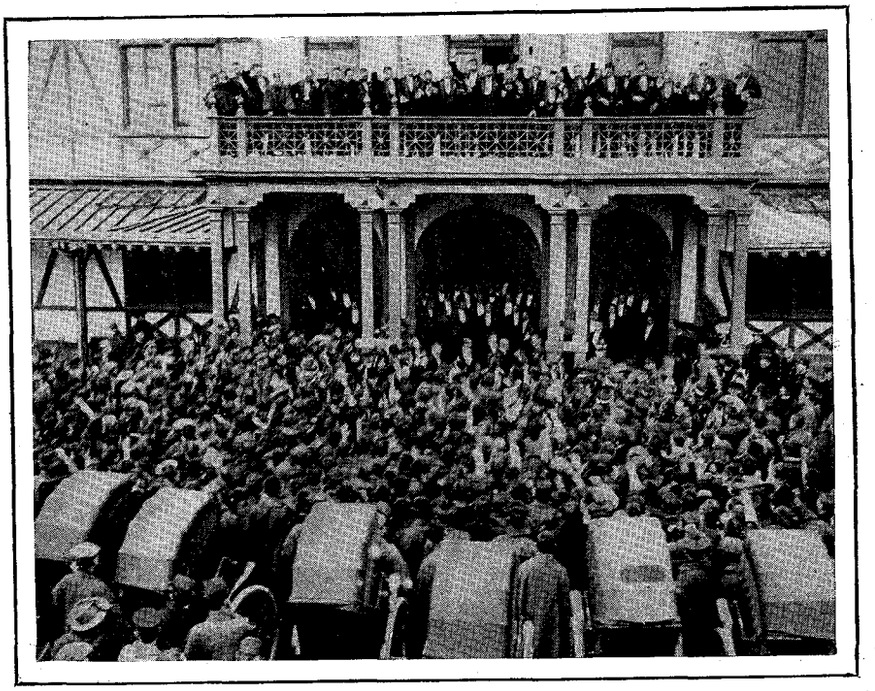
of the Yamagata school (military bureaucracy) that it still continues to rule the country unhindered in the least.

In the meantime another powerful factor has been working, a factor which constituted the second task of modern Japan. It was an industrial revolution. For good or ill man must depend directly upon the conditions of material goods. The awakening, therefore, of the world's modern civilization started with a complete revolution of economic status. Europe entered the era of industrialism and materialism during the nineteenth century. Its influence of course reached Japan, and there brought about an industrial revolution similar in character to the one which took place a century earlier in England. Handicraft gave way to factory manufacture and mechanical power was substituted for beast and man power. The whole economic order of the Empire was reconstructed upon the model of the European system.



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A DEMONSTRATION FOR UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE. MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT CAN BE DISTINGUISHED IN THE BACKGROUND BY THEIR WHITE SHIRT FRONTS. JINRIKSHAS LINE THE FOREGROUND. "MANHOOD SUFFRAGE IS NOW BEYOND A POSSIBLE DOUBT"

THE DAY OF THE NOUVEAUX RICHES

Perhaps a more significant result of industrial revolution than these has been the change in the relative position of the classes of Japanese people. Bushido, the moral code of the mediæval aristocracy, most emphatically taught the baseness of material regard. Hence the merchants were to the Samurai what the Jews were to the peoples of mediæval Europe. Merchants were accordingly placed at the bottom of the feudal caste, unworthy of the Samurai society. Even to this day most of the public officials regard the material or pecuniary consideration as mean, and look upon business men with contempt. But the advent of industrialism and materialism gradually made it impossible for any one to uphold his dignity without material means. Family prestige and rank have become no longer sufficient to earn a living. Through the irony of fate it turned out to be the despised merchants who vindicated their superior ability of successfully swimming in the oncoming waves of economic struggles. The triumph of the *bourgeoisie* and the defeat of the Samurai or aristocrats have become complete since the Great War, during which time their pockets were immensely fattened, while the very existence of the other classes was threatened by the extremely high cost of living.

The most significant consequence of the ascendency of the *bourgeoisie* has been the severe blow dealt to the military bureaucracy. Unlike former days, when the brightest youths of the Empire vied with one another for a career in the army or navy or in the Government, now the ablest graduates of universities compete with one another to enter successful business careers. Both houses of the Diet are filled with the greatest number of business men as against former times when they were monopolized by the bureaucrats. The increasing dependence of the state upon money forces the Government to bow down before the money trusts. The interests of business men being naturally directed along the line of social and industrial development, the military bureaucrats find it increasingly difficult to squeeze money from the people for military expansion. Thus before the rising forces of economic power the integrity of Japanese officialism for the first time began to shake.

The net gains of the "revolution," though not yet fully reaped, will, when completed, resemble those of the *bourgeoisie* revolution in Europe. Among others will be the gradual freeing of the governmental authorities from the trammels of militarists; renovation of the representative system, rendering its operation more truly constitutional and democratic; readjustment of the system and spirit of national education, which has been more or less militaristic; and the transformation of the spirit and method of Japanese diplomacy. Already the status of women has been greatly improved, the educational system revised, and the franchise extended, universal manhood suffrage now being considered.

At this moment Japan is in the throes of the danger which Karl Marx must be given credit for having first pointed out. Militarism and capitalism have a peculiar affinity with each other. If the rising capitalism marries militarism, it will result in the rejuvenation of the decaying military factor, the result of which will not only incur trouble with the neighboring peoples, but will finally doom the fate of her own. So far it is fair to declare that there has been no trace of dishonor in the record of Japanese capitalism in so far as it relates to diplomacy. But no one can safely assert that it will not follow the example of Occidental capitalism in the future and attempt to exploit the foreign resources at the cost of military efforts.

Fortunately, however, the third task of Japan, that of extending individual liberty, has now become a national issue, in the form of proletarian agitations against the economic domination of the capitalists, which means that Japan has made a short cut in social evolution, omitting entirely that phase of the capitalistic imperialism which played a large rôle in the modern history of Europe.

No sooner had the victory of the Japanese *bourgeoisie* over the aris-

"PRINCE ITO RESEMBLED OKUBO IN POLITICAL IDEALS, AND IT IS TO HIM THAT JAPAN OWES WHATEVER LIBERAL ELEMENTS THERE ARE IN HER NATIONAL SYSTEM"

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CAMPUS OF WASEDA UNIVERSITY, WHERE DR. UKITA, AUTHOR OF THIS ARTICLE, LEADER IN THE JAPANESE LIBERAL MOVEMENT, IS DEAN OF THE FACULTY OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

tocracy become apparent, than the uprise of the labor class began to disparage the influence of capitalism. Inspired by the world-wide movement of the working classes, the Japanese laborers have awakened to the right and justice of individuals and begun to demand the recognition of their humanity and some share in the control of the industrial system. They have wisely perceived the acquisition of political rights as an effective weapon, and their own enlightenment as the first prerequisite of a successful campaign. Through their untiring efforts the prompt establishment of manhood suffrage is now beyond a possible doubt. Through their costly agitation they have almost acquired (a bill is now being enacted) the right to organize labor unions, which will serve as a means to raise the standard of their living and intelligence. A decidedly happy marriage has been effected between liberal thinkers of the country and the laboring classes. While it stimulates and enlightens the ignorant masses, it guides their movements toward wholesome directions. When these oppressed people shall have acquired freedom and opportunity to develop and enjoy their lives and have succeeded in the acquisition of rights to partake in the formation of national and international policies of the Empire, the victory of Japanese liberalism will be complete.

THE FAILURE OF BUDDHISM

We cannot, however, overlook the part which spiritual elements have to play in the final success of liberalism. The spiritual life of the Japanese has been in a state of sad confusion during the past decade or so, consequent on the failure of Buddhism to take the lead in the ideal of the nation, on the sway of materialism, and on the yet slight hold which the Christian influence has over the people. Herein lies the vital phase, for the strengthening of which the whole weight of the influence of the liberal leaders of Nippon must be thrown.

It is almost needless to say that true liberalism grows only in a favorable soil and environment. It is totally hopeless to endeavor to foster tender sprouts of freedom in an environment hostile to their growth. Just as it is true, as shown in this discussion, that the liberal movement of modern Japan owes its source and direction—and even the forms of expression—to the modern liberal movement of Europe and America, it is also true that Japanese militarism had its source of stimuli in the prevalence of similar principles abroad. This being the case, it will be the fate of Occidental liberalism which is going to determine the future of Japanese liberalism. Herein lies the need of the world-wide union and co-operation of all the liberals of the world—union and co-operation for the purpose of vindicating their principles and ideals by openly waging battles against the common enemies, both at home and abroad, and by putting earnest efforts in realizing the good in life which their principles profess to bring about.

THE ONE-BOY-POWER MENTAL MOTOR

BY HUBERT V. CORYELL

"WHAT is the matter with my boy?"

This is the question which, in some form, I have to answer many times each year. I am in charge of the small-boy department of a private day school in one of our large cities. I have never yet found myself forced to say to a parent, "Your boy is abnormal or subnormal." But very often I have to point out very serious defects in his present state of mental efficiency.

THE AMATEUR PARENT

Most of the difficulties that children have in school are due to some neglect on the part of the parents, guardians, or teachers who have had a hand in their upbringing. I am not speaking here of bad homes, but of a majority of homes, average homes, good homes.

In an appallingly large number of cases the parents allow themselves to take their children for granted as a part of the scenery, and to look upon their function of bringing up the children as rather an incidental thing. Even when they are really devoted to the task of bringing up their children, they go at it in an amateurish, unthinking fashion. They for the most part follow the plan that was followed with them, spanking frequently or spanking rarely, according to the number of spankings received by themselves in their own childhood. Or they revolt from their own upbringing in an equally irrational fashion: the man who never was spanked spanks his children constantly to be sure that they be not spoiled, as he was; or the man who was often spanked and never indulged swears vehemently that his boy is going to have a real childhood, and discipline be hanged! Still others have no plan at all; spank when they are tired and cross, and indulge when they are in good spirits.

Therefore often when the parent says, "What is the matter with my boy?" the true answer would be, "He has not been brought up properly," or "He has never learned to obey," or "All his initiative has been crushed out of him by your iron discipline," or "You give him too much without making him work for it, so that he thinks the world was made for him," or "You can't expect an

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uneducated, incompetent nurse-girl or a weak-willed governess to be a good parent to your boy while you give yourself up to the social whirl or the affairs of the Nation." But, if I were to give the true answer frankly, the parent would rise in offended dignity, withdraw the boy from our school, and put him somewhere where the masters have more tact in dealing with the real problems of a boy's life—the parents.

In these more extreme cases the only thing to do is to work indirectly through the boy. Instead of saying, "You are too easy-going with your boy," I say, "Your boy expects too much of the world; he is too easy on himself; we must make him feel his responsibility more keenly." This the parent readily agrees to generally, and the process of visiting upon the children the sins of the father begins. The boy is allowed to go to the movies only once a week. He is required to study an hour more each day until he becomes such an efficient student during school hours that he does not need the extra hour. He is sent to bed at eight or half-past instead of ten, and is waked at half-past six or seven instead of eight. His pocket money is cut down from five dollars a week to fifty cents a week. A provision for closer co-operation between parents and teachers is arranged. Or something else is done, aimed ostensibly at the boy, but really at his parents.

But in the less extreme cases it is possible to be more frank. For instance, a mother—a good mother—has a boy who is two years behind his class. Why? Simply because of two things: he cannot read fluently enough to study his books, and he cannot spell correctly enough to write his exercises.

I question the boy, and find that he loves books but hates to read them. I ask him about his spelling, and he says that he "never could spell."

A CASE OF TOO MUCH AND TOO LITTLE

I turn to his mother, and she admits that she and he, "being great pals," have generally read books together, which means that she has read to him, books of her own choosing, which she can make fascinating by her manner of reading, but which are far beyond his own powers. She tries repeatedly to have him take a turn in the reading, but she finds that he hates it and begins to lose interest in the masterpiece of literature which they are reading. So she does the work, and he loves it. His taste for literature is two years ahead of his age, and his ability to read is two years behind his age. The conclusion is obvious and twofold: the mother must stop reading to the boy, and must give him some real boy books which have no other merit than that they are exciting and harmless. When he has learned to read these simple books fluently, let her choose some that have a content value, and gradually draw him back into the range of books that she used to read to him. It can be done. It has been done more than once.

I ask the same lady about the boy's spelling, and I get the same reply that I had from the boy: "It has always been hopeless. He never could spell." But she adds something further: "His father was always a bad speller, and is a bad speller to this day." So is his grandfather or his great-uncle. It seems to run in the family. So the matter of spelling is looked upon as hopeless. Yet the actual truth is that most bad spellers are poor readers who do not read unless they have to. These things go together to such an extent that it is fair to say that the one is the cause of the other. The boy does not read; he has no word pictures in his mind's eye, and therefore he cannot spell the words that he wishes to use in his writing. I first explain this point of view, and get a dubious assent. Then I give the boy a lesson in spelling and prove to him under his mother's eye that he can learn at least the common words. We then arrange certain mechanical matters, such as the books for the boy to read and the special time for intensive work on spelling, and the boy's problem is in a fair way to be solved, because the mother sees her fault, acknowledges it, and co-operates in correcting it.

PERHAPS PAST TEACHING HAS FAILED

At other times—in almost every case it is the mother that finds the time to look after her boy—the parent herself begins to tell me the things that she has done which she ought not to have done, and the things which she has left undone that she ought to have done. She had a tutor, perhaps, to whom the boy was devoted, and she thought the boy was doing well; but she finds that the tutor, who was a young college boy, spent more of his time taking the boy to the zoo and playing with his fascinating mechanical toys than he spent in teaching him to read and write and cipher. She was deceived by the man's charming personality and the boy's love for him. Or perhaps she sent the boy to the same school that his sister went to, and took it for granted that it would be all right, when as a matter of fact the school was run by two dear old maiden ladies who had a way with girls and who could not understand a lively boy at all. The boy walked all over them, of course, and learned nothing but the habit of scattering his forces. In cases like these it is only necessary politely to admit the rightness of the parent's self-criticism, and work out certain definite plans for making the boy feel that he has come into another world, where real responsibilities are thrust upon him, and where he must subordinate his individual will to the necessities of the community in which he finds himself.

Sometimes the fault is hardly chargeable to negligence or oversight. It may be due to a purely mechanical thing, such as a change of schools due to a change in residence. Wherever such a change occurs the boy finds himself facing the difficulty of differences in the courses of study, both as to ground covered and methods of teaching. The school to which he goes is also faced with a dilemma. Shall it put him where his actual scholastic achievements naturally place him? Or shall it broad-mindedly put him where his mental ability fits him to go on working? The more progressive schools do the latter in most cases.

But sometimes both school and parent fail in a duty just here. The boy ought to be provided with a tutor who really knows his business, who will delve intelligently into the boy's mind, observe his mental processes, and find out how much of a breach the change of schools has made in the boy's scholastic life, and how much needs to be made up. Even the best school cannot do this adequately if the breach is of any account. The teachers have a great many boys to watch over all the time, and it is only too natural to take the past for granted. Therefore a tutor should be hired to overhaul the boy's intellectual machinery. He should be a man of sympathy and experience, and for such a man the parent must pay a good price. But only such a man can do the right thing by the boy.

This overhauling of the boy's mental machinery is a very illuminating process; and every teacher should try to do some of it each year, for it will help him with other boys to anticipate difficulties. I remember being immensely surprised to discover that a boy whom I was tutoring for sixth-grade work in fractions could not do long division and had never heard of short division. But still greater was my surprise to find that there were some twenty or thirty addition combinations that he could not remember; $8+6$ meant nothing to him until he had counted on his fingers; and, having counted on his fingers once, he was no better off for the next time, but had to do it over again. It was the same with his tables of multiplication. This meant that he could not subtract or divide either, because the same tables are involved. After the boy had learned his tables he became a good mathematician. Another boy could not read $3.5 \div 6.2$. The sign of division indicated division to him, but did not tell him which number should be put into the other number. He followed the principle of dividing the larger by the smaller, which worked with whole numbers practically all the time, but which was hopeless with decimals. Cases like this could be multiplied endlessly.

We teachers are constantly discovering too late by chance the things that

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ought to have been discovered on time by some one who really had the time and the opportunity to put the X-ray on the boy's mental processes.

IT'S THE PARENTS THAT NEED TO OVERHAUL THEMSELVES

It would be easy to go on taking up instance after instance of something vitally wrong with a boy in school which is directly traceable to the faults of omission or commission of his parents. But the point has been made clearly enough already. Parents who want to know "what is the matter with my boy" should remember that the fault is almost surely theirs, and that the teacher can in almost every case point it out if the parent in conference will start in by admitting the blame and frankly asking for advice. This kind of co-operation between parents and teachers is almost a sure cure for the boy.

LEAN YEARS AND FAT

A FARMER'S WIFE CHALLENGES UNCLE SAM'S SURVEY OF FARM LIFE AND PAINTS A MORE HUMAN PICTURE

BY HARRIET WALLACE ASHBY

Underwood & Underwood

"IN SPITE OF HARD WORK, FARM LIFE IS WORTH WHILE. THE FAMILY ARE INTERESTED TOGETHER IN COMMON THINGS AND NEW LIFE"

I WAS a farmer's wife for twenty years, and I know Uncle Sam's survey of farm homes is true, but it does not tell the truth. The truth about the farm wife's life cannot be given in an outline of the day's work.

The Government can't make a representative survey of the work and life of the farm wife, because the Government sees only the dry bones. The Government gets up a meal of statistics, but it hasn't the human interest to digest and assimilate them, and with them nourish the life stream.

Yes, the survey is true. What is the Government going to do about it? Is it going to make provision for hard-working farmers with hard-working wives to borrow money, at a low rate of interest, for the purpose of equipping farm homes with wanted modern conveniences?

Is the Government going to keep the farmer's freight moving and plenty of cars at shipping points, so the farmer will have a fair profit on his labor of feeding?

Since farmers have no cold-storage plants for holding steers and hogs on the hoof, without feed or loss, till freight cars are at hand for loading in time to reach a good market, the Government help *re* freight cars would be greatly appreciated.

Is the Government going to see to it that the present practice of thrusting at the high cost of living only through the farmer is stopped?

If the Government would stop worrying about the lack of running water and electric lights for the farm wife and do some constructive worrying over the fact that in recent years the farm wife's husband has had to feed $2 corn to $11 hogs, and has worked sixteen hours out of twenty-four to keep the consumers of milk supplied at less than cost, I have a hunch that the farmer would see to it that his wife got the labor-savers she needs. The farmer takes the same pleasure all good husbands take in looking after his own folks.

"I do my work and think nothing about it," says one farm woman.

The Government is anxious to keep life in the farm woman. Does the Government forget the story in the old physiology of the man who was made to think he was bleeding to death by the dropping of warm water from the hands of another man, and of how his breath came fainter and fainter as the hushed tones uttered the tragic words, "He is getting weaker, weaker?"

Is there any surer way to take the "pep" out of life than by feeling sorry for one's self?

The average farm woman is not getting weaker, but spunkier.

Most farm women are expectantly working for better homes and more labor-saving devices. If farm equipment comes first, it is because the new machinery is a lever which will lift a bigger load than new household equipment, and these must temporarily wait.

The good farm wife would rather have man-saving machinery in the field (which is also woman-saving), and thus save the wage and waiting on of a "hand," than to equip the house with modern conveniences at the cost of needed farm tools. If her husband can sell his crops to advantage, in time these will come.

Some women would rather have an automobile for all the family to enjoy than running water in the kitchen. Some women grow chickens as men play golf—for diversion and the wholesome recreation of getting out of doors for a purpose.

The farmer's wife is her husband's

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business partner. In town or country the heads of the firm don't count their hours at the business.

The farm wife is investing her service where it is most needed—in production. The crops grown through the efforts of the farm family are plus crops—the family have fed themselves plus the three families the farmer is said to carry on his back.

They have worked with the forces of their Creator.

In spite of hard work, farm life is worth while. The family are interested together in common things and new life: the day-old calf butting the full udder, the litter of cunning pigs digging their noses into their mother, the lanky colt, the baby chicks, the birds, the wild flowers, the testing of the seed corn, and the sprouting of first grains are full of interest.

The Government has written figures on the farm wife, but it has not read the mind of the farm woman. Life will be drab anywhere if the wife and mother does not know how to put color into it, but the work the farm woman does not have strength to do because of lack of modern conveniences is not the greatest waste to the community. The big waste comes from the smoldering resentment of the injustice of having prices fixed in town for the farmer—prices which often will not pay the cost of production. She does not like it when others run the farmer's business for him in their own way.

Some time she is going to get relief by joining hands with other farm women and going after it herself. She knows that successful farming means that the farmer must know more than the road to town, to the freight yards, and the elevator and back.

To live the simple life is to let some one else run your business for you. The farmer's one aim, especially these past few years, has not been to learn the easiest road to a dollar, and so he hasn't many dollars to spend on his wife.

Nevertheless, the farm wife has approached her problems vigorously, patiently, and hopefully. As many women in the country as in town are eager to try to apply scientific methods of work and management. The farm woman accepts her streak of lean, looking hopefully forward to a coming streak of fat. She calls her methods common sense, "but what is scientific management but common sense boiled down, tabulated, recorded, referred to, corrected, approved, put into daily practice; to dispense with some drudgery, substitute some poetry, and help in the fulfillment of all our heart's desire?"

Now that Uncle Sam has discovered us, what is he going to do about us? How about a survey of the great men and women born and reared in the country?

Des Moines, Iowa.

NORAH EN DE ARK

BY LOUISE AYRES GARNETT

I wisht dat I wuz Norah a-sailin' in de Ark,
A-sailin', sailin', sailin' fur away.
He heerd his Massa callin' him, a-callin' thoo the dark,
A-callin', callin', callin' all de day.
Norah he wuz righteous, en de Lawd He say, sezee,
"Go mek yerse'f a dwellin'-place en ride upon de sea."
En Norah say, perlitely, "You done right ter pick on me,"
En he hammer, hammer, hammer w'ile he pray.

Gawd He walk' wid Norah,
En Norah walk' wid Gawd.
In de coolness ob de ev'nin' time
Norah walk' wid Gawd.

De Lawd he say ter Norah, "Mek dat Ark o' goopher wood,
En hammer, hammer, hammer wid yer might,
En black it up wid pitch 'n' tar, en waterproof it good,
En hammer, hammer, hammer ha'd en tight.
Go mek it fifty cupids wide en t'irty cupids high,
En mek it monst'us long er e'se I'll know de reason w'y;
En build it up t'ree stories, wid a winder fer ter spy,
En hammer, hammer, hammer day an' night."
Gawd He walk' wid Norah, etc.

De Lawd he say ter Norah, "Set yer fambly all ter work
Ter hammer, hammer, hammer wid deir might.
Don' let yer sons en wimmen en de pickaninnies shirk;
Dey mus' hammer, hammer, hammer ha'd en tight."
En Norah say, "I years Y'u', en we'll wo'k lak de Ole Nick.
I knows it ain't no picnic fer ter build a boat so quick,
But ef we-alls des humps ourse'fs we's boun' ter do de trick,
Ef we hammer, hammer, hammer day en night."
Gawd He walk' wid Norah, etc.

Now, Norah he was gittin' on, but full o' soopleness,
En hammer, hammer, hammer wid 'is might.
His years wuz ha'f a t'ousan', wid a hunderd, mo' er less,
But he hammer, hammer, hammer ha'd en tight.
Ham he wuz a hummer en a hammerer t' boot.
He foun' de fines' goopher trees en pull 'em by de root;
En Shem he wuz 'is pappy's pet en w'istle on de flute
W'ile dey hammer, hammer, hammer day en night.
Gawd He walk' wid Norah, etc.

Japet' wuz de younges', des a hunderd year er so,
But he hammer, hammer, hammer wid 'is might.
He run 'is pappy's errants en he w'ittle on de do',
En hammer, hammer, hammer ha'd en tight.
En w'en de Ark wuz finish' Norah mek de 'tation lis'
En 'vited all de beasteses, en not a one he miss',
En he ax' de birds en fishes kaze de Lawd He done insis',
W'ile he hammer, hammer, hammer day en night.
Gawd He walk' wid Norah, etc.

"Now, how does you sergashuate?" sez Norah ter a w'ale.
"Des hurry, hurry, hurry 'fo' hit's dark.
Be sho' you bring de missus, en don' flop eroun' yer tail,
Ner squabble, squabble, squabble wid de shark."
He axes Mistah Skeetur would he please ter enter in.
Mis' Norah she git mad ez hops en say it wuz a sin,
W'ich mek de Skeetur huffy en he stung 'er on de chin,
En hammer, hammer, hammer thoo de Ark.
Gawd He walk' wid Norah, etc.

Dey all went in by twoses, en at las' de Ark wuz full,
En wot-a, wot-a, wot-a load wuz dey!
Shem bolted fas' de winder, en den give de bell a pull,
En dey floated, floated, floated up de bay.
De Lawd He say ter Norah, "Wid des all Mah might en main,
For fo'ty days en fo'ty nights I's gwinter sen' a rain,
En ef you-alls behaves yerse'fs, ner takes Mah name in vain,
You'll go sailin', sailin', sailin' fur away."
Gawd He walk' wid Norah, etc.

En w'en de ride wuz did en done, dey all goes troo de do'
Ez happy, happy, happy ez a lark,
En falls down on deir kneeses fer ter t'ank de Lawd fer sho'
Dey wuz 'livered, 'livered, 'livered f'om de dark.
De Lawd He flung a rainbow 'crost de elements en sky,
En He say ter Mistah Norah, "You is monst'us peart en spry,
En I'll neber disremember you's de apple ob Mah eye,
Fer you hammer, hammer, hammer on de Ark."
Gawd He walk' wid Norah, etc.

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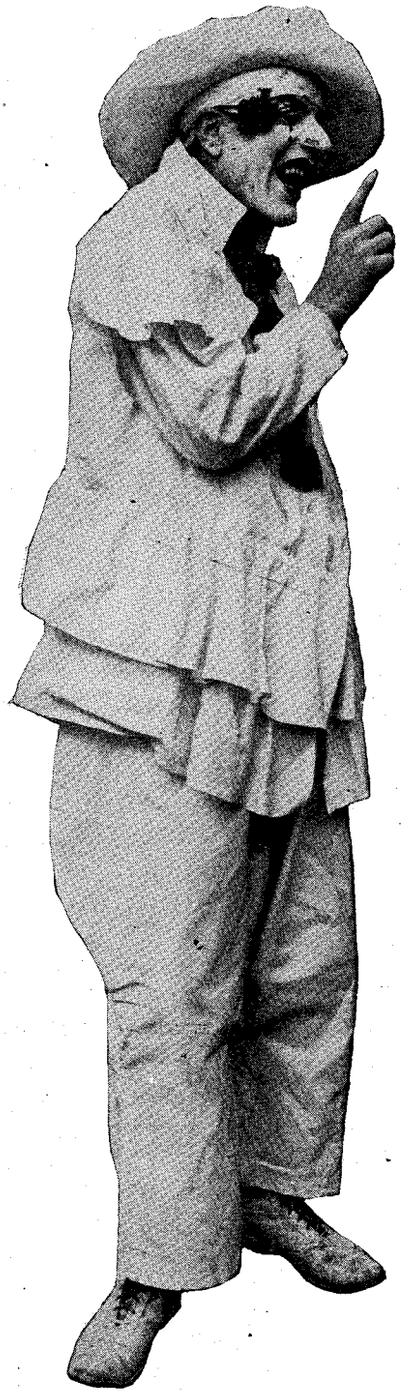
UPLIFTING THE CLOWN

BY MARIA MORAVSKY



THE American circus is the most imposing show in the world. I have never seen such a large arena, such an enormous troop of actors, and a whole herd of so many different kinds of animals together. It reminds one of the ark of Noah. And lights! Every color of the rainbow. When I saw it all for the first time, I was dazzled, overwhelmed, humbled. I felt like a mouse in a cathedral.

When I return to Russia and tell that there are sometimes *five* big rings in your circus, that the performance is going on in every one of them at the same time, people will think it tourist lies. If I try to deal with statistics and say on my lecture tours how many hundreds of actors take part in one performance, I will lose the confidence of my audience; and how shall I dare to tell about the dozens of elephants, all performing their tricks together? Nobody would believe me save children.

But I should not tell it to our children. There has been always among them an epidemic of running to America (the consequences of the badly translated Fenimore Cooper). Certainly that epidemic would grow after they heard all the miracles which I have seen in the American circus. No, I mustn't demoralize the childhood of my country.

You see now how lonely is the poor greenhorn in America, with her soul full of wonderful impressions and no hope of sharing them with her fellow-countrymen. Russia is far away and full of doubters; perhaps Americans will listen to me sympathetically.

I adored your circus for the first half of an hour; then I became restless; then I felt unhappy and depressed. I had to watch a sweet young girl, who held a rope in her teeth, with two huge athletes hanging on the end of it; the gang of wild horsemen from Texas; the dancing crowd of multi-colored girls; monkeys and policemen, clowns and Japanese jugglers—all together! And two dozens of grown-up elephants in addition to all that! No, that was too much for my Slavic nerves.

The circus manager in America must have a definite purpose to dazzle you, to blind you, to deafen you, and make you as helpless as possible. Did he ever think about the psychology of an ordinary human being? Did he not know that a person may concentrate his attention on only one performance at a time? It is a heavy crime against psychology—these five rings I have seen in the New York circus.

Especially harmful it must be for children; their tender brains are shaken pitilessly within a few hours when they try to watch attentively this dazzling show. It is very tiresome for grown-up people also. Every one leaves the circus with a heavy head. It is true that all the disagreeable thoughts leave you after that thundering diversion, but the psychological price of it is too high.

Your circus-goers don't notice that; they become "accustomed." "If you beat a rabbit it will eat even mustard," said casually one of our Russian humorists; "it will become accustomed to it."

Americans are accustomed to eat "mustard" in big doses. Noisy, dazzling shows become a necessity for them. And the worst of them is your circus. And not only because it dazzles you, but because it wrecks your nerves. There are features in it which ought to be prohibited; for instance, the exhibition of human freaks and monsters. It is inhumane.

An ugly and savage-looking woman of the Bushman tribe dancing shimmy. A monkey and a colored man in the same cage. The man with three legs. The "fattest woman in the world" sitting next to the smallest one—a lonely dwarf, who must feel so lonesome among normal people, who stare at her smilingly as if she had no soul, no feelings, no craving for love, motherhood, and other forms of happiness denied her forever. And—half of a woman, a creature without legs and hands! And a blue giant, a man with skin colored by some disease or, maybe, poison. How can any one enjoy a display of such human misery—any one with a conscience and compassion for human suffering?

The cage with the Bushman is next to a giraffe. The platform with the limbless woman next to the giantess. And the poor "fattest woman in the world," with her tag, "fat, fair, and frivolous," was side by side with a rhinoceros—as if provoking the offending comparison. Have we the right to call humanity civilized after that?

And the idea—to take children to look at all that! Children laughing gayly into the face of the limbless woman, who will never have children of her own. I call it supreme cruelty. It ought to be prohibited.

There are other less startling but no less painful things in the circus. The ridiculous five-ring system breeds professional jealousies. The circus workers constantly try to over-jump and over-cry each other, to turn the attention of the restless audience to their tricks and jokes. It isn't easy when you work in such a crowd.

I have watched a lonely gymnast performing miracles on the high-hung trapeze above the rear ring. He received very little attention because the dogs, performing their numbers on the arena below, were too smart. The Russian wolfhound would ride in a cab and the little Pekingese dressed in a fashionable gown made people roar with laughter. The poor gymnast with his simple beauty of movements could not successfully compete with the trained dogs. I watched him jumping down indifferently, wiping his forehead and wearily going out, without applause. You know, the applause is the greatest addition to the salary of a gymnast. They are starving forever as real actors for the fame of which

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they are often robbed by dogs or horses.

It isn't fair. Each of the skillful workers of the arena would receive his share of the applause and interest the audience much more if he was for a while the center of the show. But it can't be done in the present chaotic performance.

What the American circus lacks most is unity. Its performances are so *unsystematized*! The artists are presented separately, like samples in a salesman's suit-case. Here is a piece of "wonderful equilibristic skill," and next to it "the wildest cowboy scene," "the fairy on the cobweb," "miraculous acrobatic cycle-riding" and "the Australian axman." Your mind must just jump from one amazing thing to another; the ever-changing and ever-interfering impressions neutralize one another and leave your brain blank. The managers of the circus think that one miracle following another, with an interval of a minute, will give you lots of thrill. They are quite ignorant of psychology. They forget that while a few well-chosen dishes make a good dinner, a dozen of them produce acute indigestion.

The circus diet is the most indigestible of all. This is the reason that after you leave the circus you don't visit it again until the next year. Only people of a very low intelligence or those who are in love with some one in the cast go to see this stupefying show frequently.

It might not be so. The circus might draw the same audience night after night, as the best plays do. There! Maybe such a prospect would attract the attention of some circus manager to my reformer's complaint.

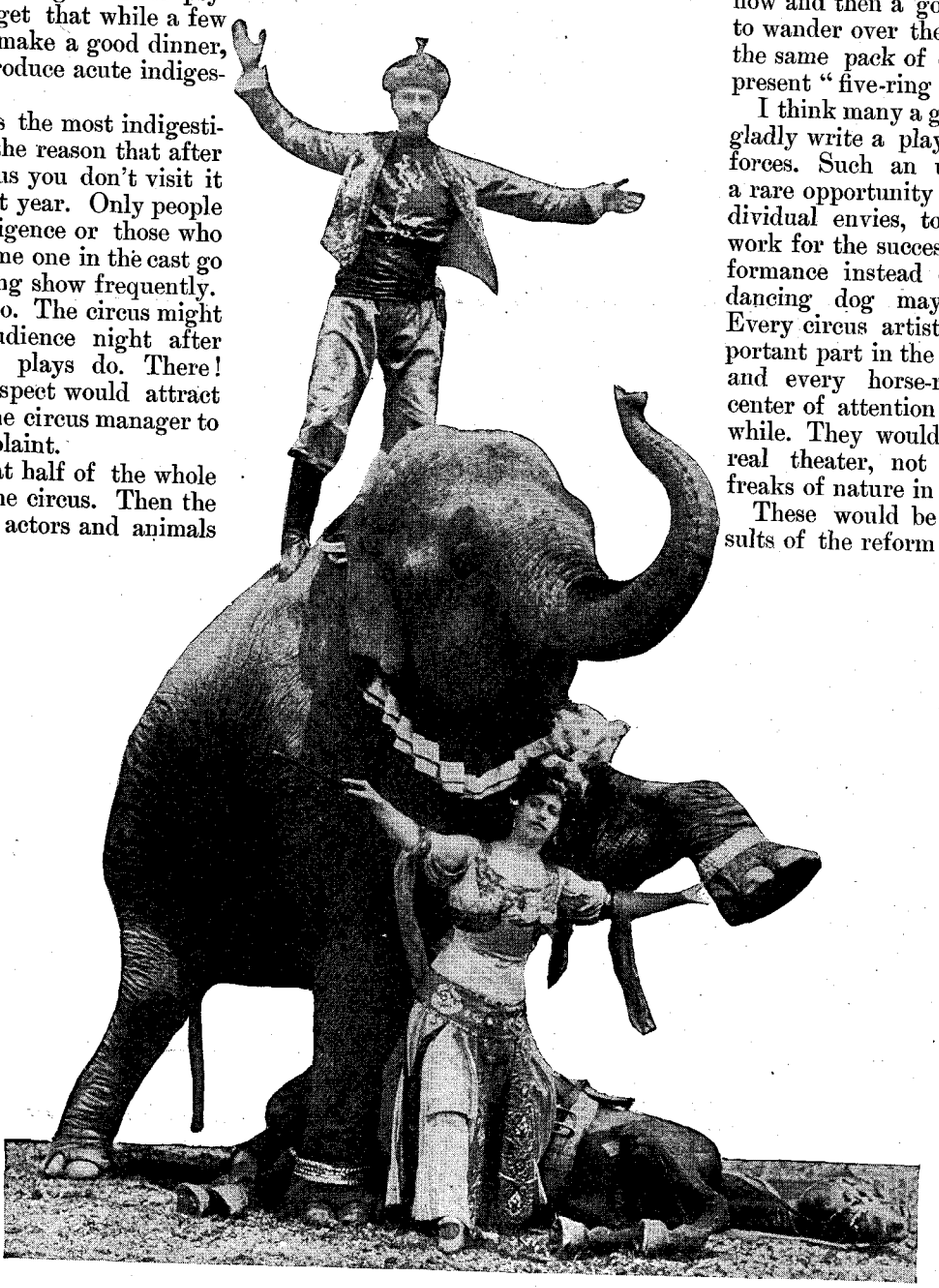
I have heard that half of the whole expense is to bill the circus. Then the immense troupe of actors and animals have to travel from State to State, because the circus would not be filled day after day in the same city. The managers admit that the circus exhausts the interest of the audience in a few weeks. Now, if the circus performance was a shadow more intelligent, more organized, it would enable the circus to stay in a city for the whole year. Here are practical suggestions: why not stage in the circus a specially written circus play in which all the skill of the gymnasts, tight-rope walkers, clowns, and bareback riders would take an essential part—I mean essential to the plot? Just think how much more interesting would be the skillful rope climbers if they used their skill for rescuing a heroine in danger, instead of sliding aimlessly up and down the rope. The animals also should have their definite place in the plot. Here is an illustration: I have seen in Russia a circus play for children in which a princess receives a wedding-cake. Her courtier cuts it and a couple of dwarfs walk out of it. Their appearance is interwoven into the plot of the play, and it produces a strong climax.

Circus plays will be successful not only for juvenile audiences. I believe that with historical dramas staged in it the circus may become the school of history and life—a national institution, a temple of great art, as it was in ancient times, instead of being just a casual entertainment. It may thrill not only our senses but our souls.

Even under present conditions of "art for profit" the circus might be changed for the better if it adopted plays. A similar thing was done at the Hippodrome. Just a slight resemblance of a play, with a tiny plot superficially uniting the flock of pretty chorus girls, and—the Hippodrome has been full for months. The circus might do the same thing, instead of giving to the audience the fragments of art, the so-called "circus numbers." It would certainly cost much less to order now and then a good circus play than to wander over the country exploiting the same pack of old tricks under the present "five-ring system."

I think many a good dramatist would gladly write a play unifying the circus forces. Such an unusual work, such a rare opportunity! To quench the individual envies, to make each artist work for the success of the whole performance instead of worrying that a dancing dog may overshadow him. Every circus artist would get his important part in the play, every gymnast and every horse-rider would be the center of attention at least once in a while. They would have *parts*, as in a real theater, not *numbers* like the freaks of nature in a museum.

These would be the immediate results of the reform: greater profit for



"THE VERY SMELL OF THE MENAGERIE EXCITES US. DOGS, HORSES, ELEPHANTS—EVERY FORM OF ENERGY IN FLESH THAT ENLIVENS OUR LITTLE EARTH—*THIS* SEEMS MORE INTERESTING THAN THE DISPLAY OF THE MECHANICAL ENERGY . . . OF THE MOST POWERFUL AND COMPLICATED MOTORS"

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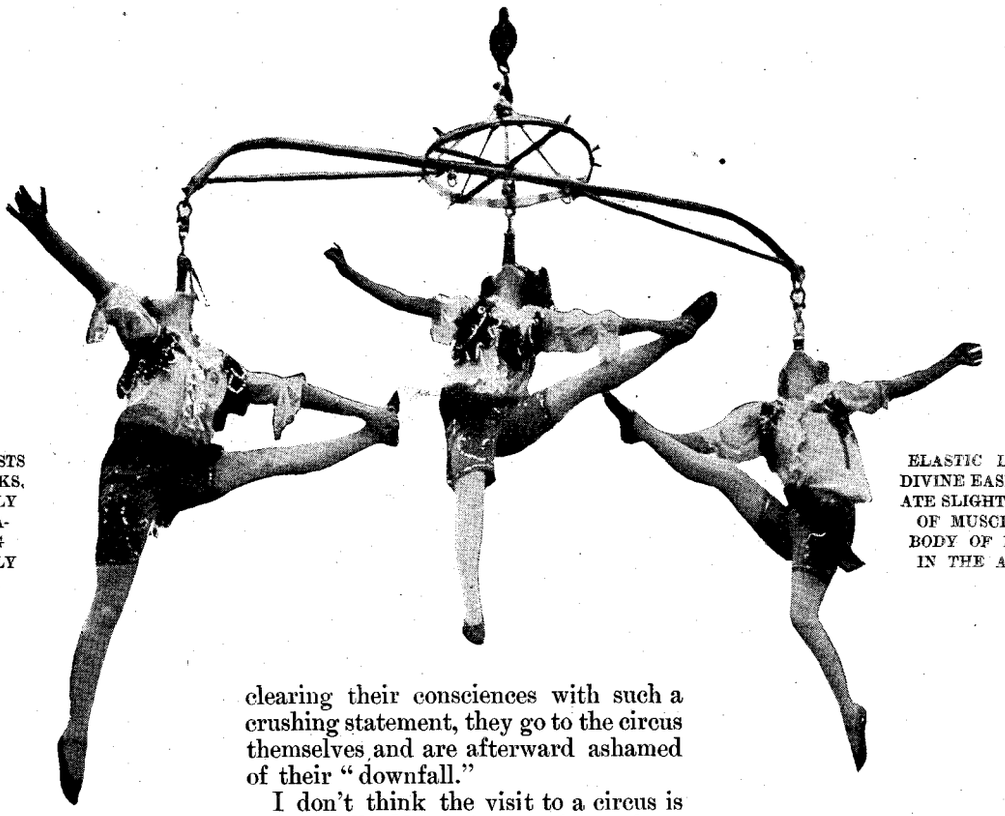

"WHILE THE GYMNASTS PERFORM THEIR TRICKS, FLYING WONDROUSLY BETWEEN THE TRAPEZES, STRETCHING THEIR UNBELIEVABLY ELASTIC LIMBS WITH DIVINE EASE, THEY CREATE SLIGHT VIBRATIONS OF MUSCLES IN THE BODY OF EVERY ONE IN THE AUDIENCE"

the manager and more satisfaction to the artists' ambitions. Of course the first plays would be mostly comedies or adventure plays, near to the movies genre. They would be gaudy, gorgeous pantomimes.

But by and by the taste of the audience would improve, and we would be able to stage real dramas in the circus. The so-called intellectuals say that it isn't worth while to think about any revival of the circus. They consider it to be an old-fashioned, "lowbrow" entertainment, good only for children and very superficial people. But, after clearing their consciences with such a crushing statement, they go to the circus themselves and are afterward ashamed of their "downfall."

I don't think the visit to a circus is a downfall. Nor is it a sentimental remembrance of our childnood, as some of these seduced intellectuals try to explain and excuse it. The circus has an eternal appeal. It always was and always will be so. It is stronger than religion, which originated it centuries ago.

There are many reasons for it, but I will mention only two, which I think strongest.

Have you ever noticed which kind of a show window attracts the greatest attention of the crowd? It is not jewelry and it is not food. It is not bottles of wine, it is not even women's clothes. In every country I have visited it is always the window of a dog shop.

You mustn't think I am straying away from my theme—it was the dog shop that helped me to understand the eternal appeal of the circus.

There are so many miraculous-looking things displayed in the window cases of the American cities. You might have become used to them but for the greenhorns; the automatic sewing-machine, for instance, the machine working all by itself in the fancy window—that looks quite a miracle. And yet, no matter how the window dec-

"OUR POOR BODIES ARE STARVING FOR THE BEAUTY OF MOVEMENTS. OUR MINDS, OFTEN SUBCONSCIOUSLY, ARE STARVING FOR IT ALSO. . . . WE, THE WEAKLINGS OF THE CITY WITH OUR UNDEVELOPED FRAMES, SHARE THE JOY OF HAVING PERFECT BODIES, PERFECT MOVEMENTS"

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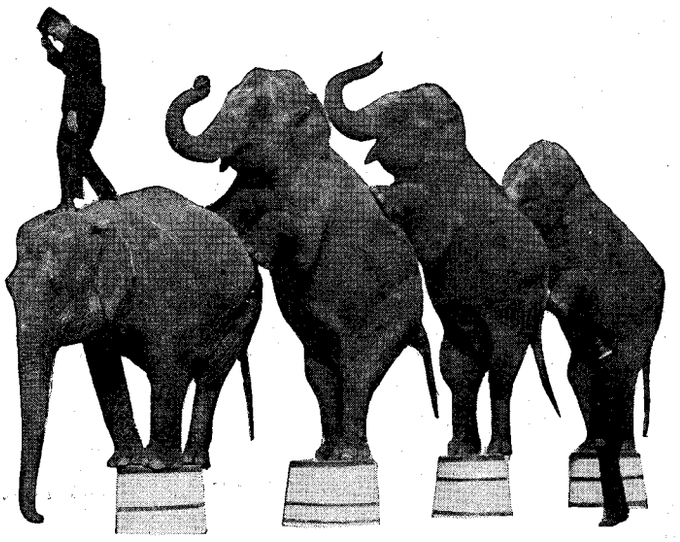
orators strain their imaginations, they cannot invent anything as delightful to the crowd as a window with a few common animals playing in it. The brightest display of precious stones, the most complicated mechanical toys, the gaudiest garment on a wax beauty—all that may attract the crowd for a while, then people get accustomed to it and pass indifferently by. But the puppies playing in the window are an eternally interesting show for men, women, and children, for immigrants and Americans alike.

It is that greatest of all miracles, the miracle of life, which compels people to watch the animals. It is the inexhaustible, always appealing, always joy-giving performance of the posing, jumping, playing, barking, purring, crawling brother animals of ours.

We go to the circus for the same reason that we gaze at the dog-shop window. The very smell of the menagerie excites us. Dogs, horses, elephants —every form of energy in flesh that enlivens our little earth—this seems more interesting than the display of the mechanical energy, the astounding revolutions of the most powerful and complicated motors. We have but little respect for the creations of our hands. The funny bulldog pressing his nose against the window glass can beat them all, because he is alive.

This great curiosity which we have for other living beings is one of the reasons why we love the circus. Another reason for the great appeal of the circus is the display of physical strength and alertness of the human body, which we admire there, as an ideal almost unattainable for ourselves. In spite of all the institutions and magazines promoting physical culture, the average man and woman is far away from the ideally developed human being. We are so unfair to our bodies. Half of the day people sit in offices and another half in music halls and theaters. Our poor bodies are starving for the beauty of movements. Our minds, often subconsciously, are starving for it also. The subconscious mind dreaming physical perfection—



"HOW SHALL I DARE TO TELL ABOUT THE ELEPHANTS ALL PERFORMING THEIR TRICKS TOGETHER? NOBODY WOULD BELIEVE ME SAVE CHILDREN"

this is what drags us to the circus. And there is a physiological reason for it also. While the gymnasts perform their tricks, flying wondrously between the trapezes, stretching their unbelievably elastic limbs with divine ease, they create slight vibrations of muscles in the body of every one of the audience. Every movement of the wrestling giant, or flying-trapeze man, or tight-rope dancer, or Wild West horse rider is weakly repeated, reflected, imitated by our bodies. We, the weaklings of the city, with our undeveloped frames, share the joy of having perfect bodies, perfect movements. And it is not self-hypnotism, not "just imagination"—no, our blood really runs warmer, our hearts beat more rhythmically, even our digestion improves, from watching the circus performance as if we were taking real exercise.

These two reasons, our eternal wonder before the miracle of life and our unsatiated craving for physical perfection, seem to me the sufficient explanation of the eternal appeal of the circus. The theater, which is so unreal (physically), can never replace the circus. The idea of the circus cannot grow old-fashioned, unless all of us attain physical perfection. In its present form it is a very imperfect, harmful, almost barbaric entertainment.

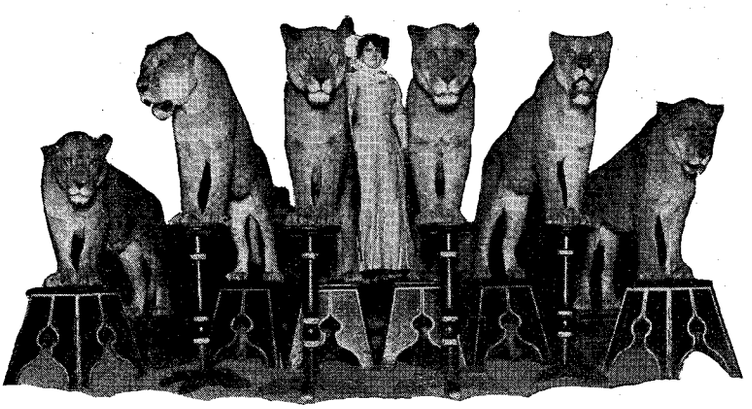
But it might not be so. You have the largest circus in the world—why not make it the greatest? You have so many means for it. Just imagine, all these actors, animals, lights, and instruments being united in a harmonious picture, in some great play, giving joy to our souls as well as to our senses.

The circus was the temple of great art in olden times. The Roman Coliseum was really great; try to make a Coliseum out of your circus.

It is possible. The great popular drama of simple lines, the historical drama, such as "Quo Vadis" on the screen, might be highly impressive in the circus. The mass scenes, the revolutionary battles, the religious processions—how much more real they would seem in your great circus than on the humble stage of the theater! Napoleon at the Pyramids, the War of Independence, the Fall of the Winter Palace—all that might create an immense performance. And the poor elephants, which are now compelled to dance stupidly, would find a decent place in it, too. They may imitate, for example, a picturesque caravan in the desert instead of dancing one-step against their nature.

I have seen dramas of Sophocles and Euripides staged in the circus of Russia, and they were successes, although the Greek masterpieces are so far from the modern Russian soul. I am sure that a great up-to-date drama with mass scenes staged in the circus would be very successful in America.

Of course it must be a drama or tragedy with a wide social interest in it, not merely a "tale of two hearts." It must deal not with two lovers only, but with some great problem concerning the whole of humanity. Then the large stage of the circus will become the Great Stage.



"IT IS THAT GREATEST OF ALL MIRACLES, THE MIRACLE OF LIFE, WHICH COMPELS PEOPLE TO WATCH THE ANIMALS. IT IS THE INEXHAUSTIBLE, ALWAYS APPEALING, ALWAYS JOY-GIVING PERFORMANCE OF THE POSING, JUMPING, PLAYING, BARKING, PURRING, CRAWLING BROTHER ANIMALS OF OURS"

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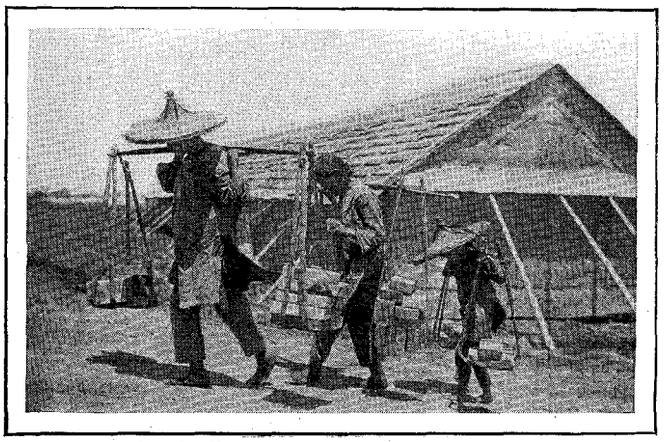
PICTURES FROM OUTLOOK READERS



From W. E. Burton, Montclair, N. J.

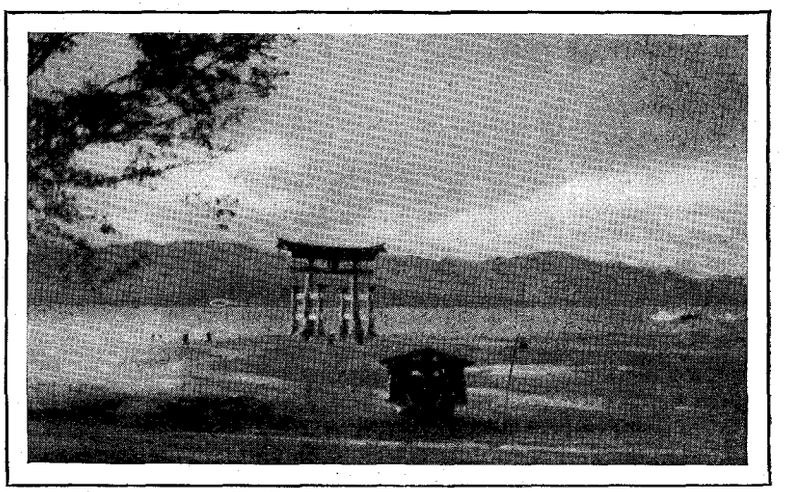
THE BUILDERS—A FAMILY JOB

This photograph, says the sender, was taken by a young American engineer in the Province of Kwangsi, China, on the bank of the Western River, some two hundred miles west of Canton. It presents a typical aspect of the part played by the women and children of that district in the day's work. The little girl is about seven years old

From Takato Okuyama, Tokyo, Japan

THE BURNING OF THE WORLD SUNDAY SCHOOL CONVENTION HALL IN TOKYO

Hundreds of delegates from all over the world were temporarily deprived of a meeting-place through the burning of the great auditorium in Tokyo which had been prepared for their use. This unusual photograph shows the first stages of the fire



From Jessie E. McKay, Honolulu, Hawaii

THE MIAJIMI TORII AT LOW TIDE

This well-known torii, the water gateway of a Shinto temple, is on Miajima Island, situated in the Inland Sea of Japan

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THE BOOK TABLE: DEVOTED TO BOOKS AND THEIR MAKERS

THE CHURCH AND THE CHURCHES

Two recently published books,[1] one by an Anglican Bishop, the other by an Oxford professor, present a Churchman's point of view; both are written in an irenic spirit and with an evidently sincere desire to promote organic church union; neither author is willing to sacrifice any sincere conviction for the sake of church unity, and neither of them takes account of what both would probably term the extreme Protestant point of view, which is the point of view of the writer of this article.

Bishop Palmer's view of the Church may be briefly summarized thus: Jesus Christ organized a Church, gave to the twelve Apostles a commission, and endowed them with certain definite powers, one of which was to transmit these powers to their successors in office. It is true that the Church selects those successors; but only the bishop, who takes by appointment the office of the Apostle, possesses the spiritual powers of the Apostles or can confer those powers on the ones whom the Church chooses. Bishop Palmer says: "The Church is not and cannot be democratic in essence, for it has for its head a king whose position is absolute and unconditional—Jesus Christ. . . . To him and him alone the bishops, his assistant shepherds, are responsible." Thus, according to Bishop Palmer, the bishops are not responsible to the Church which has elected them. They, not the Church, have received by divine appointment a commission "to represent the paramount Personality."

Dr. Headlam's larger volume furnishes more opportunity for and gives evidence of a more scholarly treatment. He is Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford, and has, it may be presumed, more leisure and better facilities for study than the busy missionary bishop. He traces the doctrine of the Church from the Four Gospels down to the Lambeth Conference. He says that Christ "created the Church as a visible society. He instituted ministry and sacraments. He gave authority for legislation and discipline." "But he gave no directions as to the form or organization of the new community, and the actual organization which was ultimately developed was different from anything which he personally established." Episcopacy "was the creation of the Church. . . . It had its origin in the Apostolic Church; it represents a continuous development from Apostolic times; but we cannot claim that it has Apostolic authority." Dr. Headlam defends the historic episcopacy and the Nicene Creed as a basis for organic Church union, not on the ground that they have the direct authority of Jesus Christ, as he thinks the two sacraments have, but because their value has been recognized by an overwhelming majority in the Christian Church from a very early age.

We do not know of any recent book from which the interested layman can better get a statement of what is popularly known as the High Church view in its extreme form than Bishop Palmer's, nor any book from which he can get a better view of the grounds on which the historic episcopate is defended by moderate Churchmen than Dr. Headlam's book. But neither of them will give the reader any idea of the view held by the Puritan churches, though more consistently by the Pilgrims and the Quakers, and to-day by an increasing number of scholars in the great Protestant denominations. This may be defined, though inadequately, in a sentence: That Jesus Christ organized no Church, ritual, or creed, and commanded no sacraments; that he was a life-giver, not a lawgiver, and left his disciples, guided by his recorded words and inspired by his perpetual presence, to formulate their own creeds, frame their own rituals, develop their own working and worshiping organizations as their developing life, varying temperaments, and changing circumstances might suggest to them.

The Puritan churches might perhaps accept the episcopacy as a convenient form of organization and an advantageous method of co-operation and the Nicene Creed as an unauthoritative emotional expression of reverence. But they could not unite with other Christians on the basis offered by Bishop Palmer without sacrificing their sacred convictions. This would be to ask the spiritual successors of Pastor Robinson to unite in the same organization with the spiritual successors of Archbishop Laud. The latter believe the Church of Christ to be an absolute monarchy, with rulers who owe no accountability for their rule to the constituency which elected them. The former hold that the Church of Christ is not only the most democratic of organizations, but the mother and should be the inspirer and example of political, educational, and industrial democracy.

LYMAN ABBOTT.

[1] The Great Church Awakes Ideas and Studies Concerning Unity and Reunion. By Edwin James Palmer, D.D., Bishop of Bombay. Longmans, Green & Co., New York.

The Doctrine of the Church and Christian Reunion. Being the Bampton Lectures for the year 1920. By the Rev. Arthur C. Headlam, D.D. Longmans, Green & Co., New York.

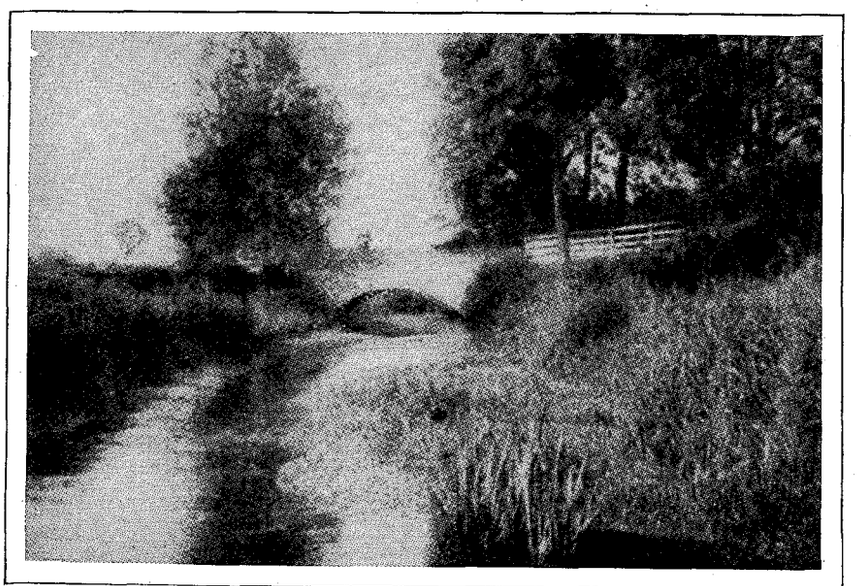
THE CONTEMPLATIVE DAYS

The contemplative days are come for anglers, but they are by no means "the saddest of the year." Though rods and lines are laid away waiting for the going out of the ice in the spring, the fly fisherman knows that winter plays an important part in his fishing calendar. Winter, as Sir Edward Grey so delightfully explains in his volume on "Fly Fishing" (the American edition of which was reviewed last April in The Outlook), is a time when anticipative imagination peoples all favorite streams with flashing monsters always and inevitably to be conquered by the angler's consummate skill. Winter, too, is a time when the angler finds opportunity not only to review his own experience and survey his own hopes, but also to share in the experiences and hope of others through the magic medium of books.

Certainly contemplative anglers can find no recent book better adapted for this purpose than Mr. H. T. Sheringham's "Trout Fishing Memories and Morals."[1] Mr. Sheringham is the editor of the "London Field" and is one of the best-known fly-fishermen and angling writers in the British Isles. His volume is a record of a lifetime's experience along the streams of England and Scotland, and is as delightfully written as any work on angling which we have recently seen. We do not know whether good writers naturally turn to angling or whether angling naturally produces good writers, but there are few of the foremost anglers who do not handle the story of their art with eminent literary distinction. Mr. Sheringham is no exception to this rule.

American anglers will find themselves

[1] Trout Fishing Memories and Morals. By H. T. Sheringham. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston.



Courtesy of Houghton Mifflin Co.

DROXFORD, THE HAUNT OF THAT "BIG ONE"

An illustration from Mr. Sheringham's delightful "Trout Fishing Memories and Morals"

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very much at home in the atmosphere of this work, even though it deals with unfamiliar waters and with the wiles of *Salmo trutta* instead of *Salvelinus fontinalis*. The cult of the dry fly, it is true, is less followed here than in England, and some of the words and customs of English angling have a foreign air. But these variations involve only slight differences in that language of angling common to all those who follow the rise, whether from the banks of the Itchen or the banks of the Willowemoc. One thing, indeed, we can learn from English anglers besides the delicacies of chalk-stream strategy, and that is the obvious fact that in most English streams the weight limit is very much larger than the legal limits in American waters. Weight limits of a pound or over seem to be common in English waters, and doubtless this has much to do with the fact that streams which have been fished for centuries still give up their annual tribute to the feathered fly, while American streams with but a few decades of angling history behind them have been given over to coarse fish and few. In most English streams the catch is strictly limited to a few brace at most. It would almost appear that English trout go into the creel as did the animals into the ark, two by two, for Mr. Sheringham, in common with other English anglers, never seems happy unless he can number his victories in terms of "braces."

If you have a little or large angler in your home, we can imagine no better Christmas gift to drop into his or her fishing boot than a copy of Mr. Sheringham's "Trout Fishing Memories and Morals."

THE NEW BOOKS

FICTION

Homespun and Gold. By Alice Brown. The Macmillan Company, New York.

Alice Brown ranks with Sarah Orne Jewett and Mary Wilkins as a writer of short stories of New England character. Lately her excellent novels have been more to the front in the public's attention than her short stories. This is a collection of her best work in her earlier field, including stories published during the last ten or twelve years. They are humorous, human, and true.

Noon-Mark (The). By Mary S. Watts. The Macmillan Company, New York.

The novel reader may always depend on Mrs. Watts for sincere and faithful rendering of chosen phases of American life. The contrast here between two girl cousins—one an insincere, selfish schemer, the other sensible, downright, and independent—is well done. In construction and the centralizaing of interest in one large situation the novel is less successful than some of its predecessors.

BIOGRAPHY

Life of George Washington. By Henry Cabot Lodge. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. 2 vols.

This new edition of Senator Lodge's excellent Life of Washington has a peculiar pertinence at this time when America is undergoing a re-examination of its fundamental political principles. Not only for its faithful and illuminating portraiture of Washington, but also for its discriminating study of the difference between the Federalism of Hamilton and the Democracy of Jefferson does this work deserve a reading. The problems of foreign influence and of domestic government with which the fathers of our Republic were concerned have a practical and immediate application to the problems confronting us to-day. It may be added that a study of this work (written twenty years ago) will convince the reader that Senator Lodge's distrust of the League of Nations was not based upon a desire to derive party advantage from the defeat of President Wilson but upon philosophical principles to which he has given lifelong adherence.

New England Romance (A). The Story of Ephraim and Mary Jane Peabody (1807-1892). Told by Their Sons. With Illustrations. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston.

The story of the simple natural lives of a Massachusetts clergyman and his wife, beautiful in the simplicity and the naturalness of their unselfish devotion, and told with a simple and natural beauty of language fitting for such a theme. Incidentally it gives a graphic picture of Revolutionary and pre-Revolutionary days.

ESSAYS AND CRITICISM

American Ideals. By Theodore Roosevelt. Introduction by Hermann Hagedorn. Illustrated. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

Stories from the Winning of the West, 1769-1807. By Theodore Roosevelt. Introduction by Lawrence F. Abbott. Illustrated. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

This most excellent edition of two of the most important works from Theodore Roosevelt's pen would make a most admirable addition to any school or private library. The "Stories from the Winning of the West" contains an introduction from the pen of Mr. Lawrence F. Abbott, President of The Outlook Company. "American Ideals" contains a most noteworthy introduction by Hermann Hagedorn, of the Roosevelt Memorial Association. We do not know where a better interpretation of Mr. Roosevelt's character within similar limits of space can be found than in Mr. Hagedorn's Introduction. Both volumes are admirably printed and fully illustrated.

On the Art of Reading. By Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch, M.A. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

This book is the work of a scholar and a stylist, and as such will appeal to people who already know something of the fine art of reading. As might be expected from an author who is an editor and a novelist as well as a professor of English literature, original points of view, apt quotations, and genial play with the subject characterize the volume.

TRAVEL AND DESCRIPTION

Book of Chicago (The). By Robert Shackleton. Illustrated. The Penn Publishing Company, Philadelphia.

If any one doubts the greatness of Chicago, this book will convert him, though perhaps it will not make the doubter want to live in the city so enthusiastically described. Chicagoans themselves who read the book will become even more confirmed as "boosters" of a wonderful city that still remains American and Western rather than cosmopolitan in its spirit.

WAR BOOKS

My Three Years in America. By Count Bernstorff. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

No matter what we think about the part played by Count von Bernstorff, that very accomplished diplomat, during his three years here as German Ambassador, this book, as a real contribution to history, will assuredly take its place alongside volumes of such permanent value as Viscount Haldane's, General von Falkenhayn's, and Count Czernin's. Indeed, in none of these is there sharper, more illuminative, and more cynical observation both of men and events. The author's aim in the war, as he defines it, was to accept President Wilson's offer of mediation; but the German Government did not wish to accept it. Instead it wanted "to declare unrestricted U-boat war." It is impressive to note the Ambassador's warnings in 1916 against contemplated German action as certain to draw the United States into the war. The author apparently sympathized with Mr. Wilson's aim to bring about "peace without victory," and says, "If he had succeeded in doing this, all of us, friend and foe alike, would now be living in a better world than the present one"—in which judgment we cordially and fervently differ. Again, we read that Mr. Wilson would only "have needed to nod in order to induce his whole country to fight after the Lusitania incident." Yet, having actually "made such prominent use of the motto 'He kept us out of war' in the campaign" of the succeeding year for re-election, it is "unthinkable," according to this German critic, that the President should have intended all this time ultimately to enter the war. When Count von Bernstorff reached home, he vividly experienced what he certainly must have surmised before, namely, that he was not popular with the military chiefs there. That he was not entirely popular with the Emperor himself is also frankly indicated in this book.

MISCELLANEOUS

Darkwater. By W. E. B. Du Bois. Harcourt, Brace & Howe, New York.

Dr. Du Bois, as is well known, is the editor of "The Crisis" and one of the most urgent propagandists of race equality in the United States. "Darkwater" is the record of his convictions. It contains a picture of the relationship between white and colored citizens of the United States which is both moving and disquieting. The Outlook recognizes the unhappy background from which Dr. Du Bois's utterances have sprung; it knows the underlying tragedy of the struggle which he paints. Nevertheless it is convinced that the final solution of the problem of race relationship in America will not be found, must not be found, through the means which Dr. Du Bois advocates. Dr. Du Bois is too close to the struggle to see clearly the problems involved. His work is a creation of passion rather than intelligence. It is, on the whole, a volume which will convince only those already convinced of the justice and soundness of his position.

Voice of the Negro (The). By Robert T. Kerlin. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York.

A valuable volume for the study of the Negro question in America is this collection of extracts from the colored press made by Professor Robert T. Kerlin, of the Virginia Military Institute. Few there are who realize the influence of the Negro press or have appreciation of its character at the present time. This volume will give to those who desire to study this question a first-hand knowledge of the views and the position of Negro editors. The volume is doubtless intended to serve more as a book of reference than as a work of literature. Typographically the book is not attractive.

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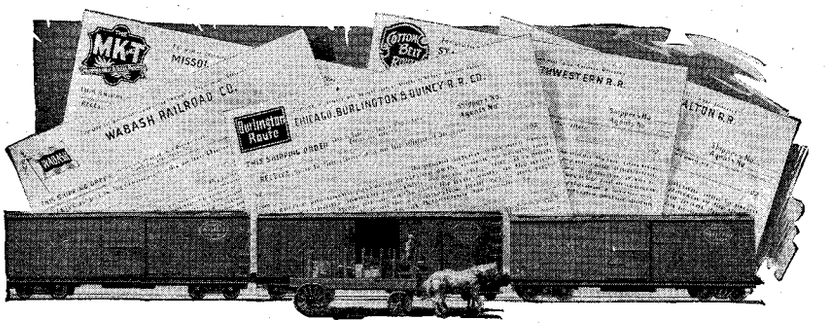

THE successive increases in eastern freight rates since 1914 of 5%, 15%, 25% and 40%, and corresponding advances in express rates, have figuratively removed New York eastward into the Atlantic Ocean some 1,500 miles, as measured by the present carrying charges to the Middle West.

Slow rail service has doubled and tripled the time in transit, making long-haul distribution economically impossible and consequential interest charges excessive.

While the raw materials and markets of the Mississippi Valley, Middle West and Far West have been further removed from the long-haul eastern manufacturer, they have been drawn closer to the short-haul St. Louis manufacturer.

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THIS WEEK'S OUTLOOK

A WEEKLY OUTLINE STUDY OF CURRENT HISTORY[1]

BY J. MADISON GATHANY

SCARBOROUGH SCHOOL, SCARBOROUGH-ON-HUDSON, N. Y.

The "Open Door"

WHAT is meant by the "open door" principle? Under what circumstances in 1900 did John Hay proclaim this principle regarding China?

What is the meaning of a mandate and a mandatary power as used in this editorial? What, in your opinion, is the significance of the mandatary principle in international politics?

What right had the League of Nations to grant special privileges to Great Britain in Mesopotamia? Have we as much right in Mesopotamia as Great Britain? What reasons have you for your opinion?

Do or do you not think that "peoples not yet able to stand by themselves" should be placed under the tutelage of advanced nations? If you do, to what extent would you say such peoples should have a voice in matters of vital concern to themselves?

Does or does not the question of the "open door" in Mesopotamia indicate that the United States should be a member of the League of Nations?

Has Secretary Colby gone too far in his answer to the note of August 9 from Earl Curzon? Discuss this question somewhat at length.

What reasons have you for thinking that what Secretary Colby said in his note will increase or decrease international good will?

How do you define the following terms: *Mesopotamia*, *exploiting*, *concessions*, *equitable treatment*, *diplomacy*.

A specially valuable book to read in connection with international policies and politics is "World Politics," by Paul Reinsch (Macmillan).

Senator Harding's Valedictory

Have you any suggestions to offer to The Outlook as to "what circumstances and what tendencies in American thought have kept the Senate from becoming a training ground for Presidents"? Would it be well for us to look to the Senate for Presidential nominees?

Unquestionably there are a great many people in the United States who regard the Senate as an oligarchy. Senator Harding holds decidedly to the contrary. Do you agree with the President-elect? If you don't, how could you prove to him that he is in the wrong?

Can you give specific reasons why Congress should make the three remaining months of the present Administration "fruitful rather than wasteful months"?

Do or do you not think the members of Congress should ever use their positions and Congress to serve party ends? Do you know of instances where this has been true of any of them?

What responsibilities belong peculiarly to the Senate? To the Executive? To the two branches jointly?

Can you show by concrete illustrations drawn from American history since 1916 how necessary it is that Congress and the Executive work in the spirit of co-operation?

Has Mr. Harding's course since the election justified the overwhelming majority of votes cast for him?

If you care to pursue further the points raised in this study, consult the following books in the order given: "Constitutional Government in the United States," by Woodrow Wilson (Columbia University Press); "The Federal Executive," by J. P. Hill (Houghton Mifflin); "Principles of Politics," by J. W. Jenks (Columbia University Press); "American Political Ideals," by C. E. Merriam (Macmillan).

Liberal Movements in Modern Japan

What comparison can you make between the course of liberal movements in Japan and the course of similar movements in your own country?

Would or would it not have been better had Japan remained distinctly Oriental?

It is evident that class distinctions in Japan are undergoing change. How important do you consider the breaking down of such distinctions as necessary to the development of democracy? Can you show how democracy has been advanced in Japan?

What is the meaning of the term liberalism as used in this article by Professor Ukita? He believes that there are common enemies of liberalism everywhere. Who and what are they?

Define with care the following expressions: *Cosmopolitanization*, *Occidental*, *innovations*, *bureaucracy*, *feudalism*, *Bushido*, *capitalism*, *prerequisite*, *manhood suffrage*.

Here are four valuable books on Japan: "Modern Japan," by A. S. & S. W. Hershey (Bobbs, Merrill); "Japan in World Politics," by K. K. Kawakami (Macmillan); "Japan Foreign Policies," by A. M. Pooley (Dodd, Mead); "Democracy and the Eastern Question," by T. Millard (Century).

President Wilson's Final Message; The Duty of Congress

Do you think President Wilson defined democracy very well in his last annual Message, summarized on another page? Would you define it differently?

Do you think of any important legislative matters which the President failed to recommend? If so, what would you say to Congress about these matters?

What is your opinion of granting independence to the Filipinos?

What do you think of the duty of Congress as suggested by The Outlook on another page?

What would be the value of a National budget system?

What, in a few sentences, is your opinion of Mr. Wilson as President?

In answering some of the questions in this study you will find "The Budget and Responsible Government," by Cleveland and Buck (Macmillan), and "Woodrow Wilson and His Work," by W. E. Dodd (Doubleday, Page) and "The Peace Tangle," by John F. Bass (Macmillan), three suggestive books.

[1] These questions and comments are designed not only for the use of current events classes and clubs, debating societies, teachers of history and English, and the like, but also for discussion in the home and for suggestions to any reader who desires to study current affairs as well as to read about them. —THE EDITORS.

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THE RAINBOW IN THE FINANCIAL CLOUDS

BY THEODORE H. PRICE

(From an Address delivered before the City Club of Cleveland, December 4, 1920)

WHEN I came to look into my subject I was surprised to find that very little is really known about rainbows even by the scientists. The wonderful story in Genesis tells how when the deluge had subsided the Lord promised that "when I bring a cloud over the earth the bow shall be seen in the cloud" as his guaranty that "the waters shall no more become a flood to destroy all flesh." But upon turning from the Bible to a book upon "Geometrical Optics" I learned that, while it was a fact that the sunlight was decomposed as it shone through the spherical raindrops, no one exactly understood why, and that the secondary rainbow which sometimes encircles the more vivid and primary bow was even harder for the physicists to explain.

We know that white light passing through a prism is resolved into seven primary and twenty-one secondary colors, but this is about all we know with certitude, and the difficulty that Newton and his successors have had in explaining just why the same result follows the passage of the sun's rays through the spherical raindrops inclines even the skeptical to accept the Biblical story as conclusive.

And the first thing to observe in this story is that there can be no rainbow without a cloud. The world had been submerged in the flood. Noah and his company in the ark alone survived, and when the flood had subsided immunity from another deluge was vouchsafed to mankind by the rainbow.

Just now there are some who are predicting a commercial and financial deluge that will engulf the world. A German has written a book entitled "The End of Western Civilization," in which it is asserted that the history of the dark ages is about to repeat itself in Europe and that humanity will shortly revert to barbarism, made more terrible by the use of the death-dealing machinery developed during the war.

The complete breakdown of the world's economic organization is also predicted by those who choose to take a gloomy view of the future. It is prophesied that the already depreciated currencies of Europe will become entirely worthless and that primitive barter will shortly be the only method by which business can be conducted.

That there is some basis for this expectation, especially in the countries whose paper money is worth less than five per cent of its par value, is to be admitted; but it will not be a new experience, and civilized society has in the past survived equally severe shocks to its economic machinery.

But certainly the cloud is overhanging us. Is there a bow to be discerned in it that will negative the pessimistic predictions of a deluge that are to be heard in so many quarters?

To this the answer is, Yes—the bow is there if we can but see it. Some of us are, however, color blind, and cannot see a rainbow. Others have been so dazzled by the white light of prosperity that shone in the cloudless days of high prices that their vision is really impaired, and still others there are who are always depressed by darkness and do not understand that clouds are as necessary as sunshine and

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THE RAINBOW IN THE FINANCIAL CLOUDS (*Continued*)

that for most of us eternal day would mean eternal death.

But if we look hard enough the bow will become visible, and as we gaze upon it we shall discover many analogies between the white light of the sun as it is resolved into its component colors in its passage through the raindrops and the white light of prosperity that is decomposed as it penetrates the clouds of the present depression.

For prosperity, like light, is composed of many elements. It is a compound of material, labor, capital, transportation, intelligence, economy, and expenditure. These are its primary colors, but, as in the rainbow, many secondary colors are produced as labor converts material into what men require, and capital and transportation distribute the resulting product to those who by intelligence and economy have become able to purchase it, and so complete the circle around which production and consumption forever follow each other.

But we know that the white sunlight contains seven colors in certain proportions, and that any variations from these proportions indicate abnormality. And so the rainbow that is visible through the clouds of business depression to those who are intent upon seeing it may have its practical uses.

While it is a guaranty against the complete submergence of a deluge, it may show that the prosperity from which it is resolved was abnormal or defective in that it did not contain the requisite elements in their proper proportion. And here, to leave the metaphorical and get down to realities, is the chief value of such reactionary periods as the present. They provide us with opportunity and time to examine and analyze policies and processes and ascertain wherein they have been wrong.

In our previous prosperity we may have used too much or too little material, labor, capital, or transportation, and we may have been mistakenly economical, unduly extravagant, or less intelligent than necessary in the management of our business.

It is generally admitted that there is an outrageous waste of material in America. I am told that in our use of coal nearly ninety per cent of its potential energy is wasted, and I know that in the textile industry the waste of cotton from seed to loom is fully twenty-five per cent. I should say that the waste of raw material in American industry averages fully thirty per cent. Not all of this is reclaimable, but a large portion of it can be saved by those who are willing to introduce scientific methods and machinery. And as to the labor element. Well, we have a long way to go before we can even glimpse the addition to our wealth that would result from the intelligent utilization of human labor. Employer and employee, those who work with their heads and those who work with their hands, must co-operate in solving the problem, for the only way that the war's cost can ever be paid is by making it possible for one man to produce as much in the future as two did previously.

It was the invention of the steam-engine and the power-driven labor-saving machinery that followed in its train that enabled Great Britain and Continental Europe to pay the expenses of the Napoleonic wars, and it is only by increasing our collective earnings through the invention and introduction of labor-saving machinery and processes that we can hope to amortize,

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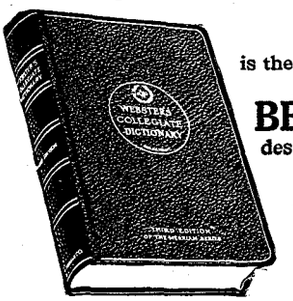

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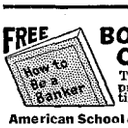

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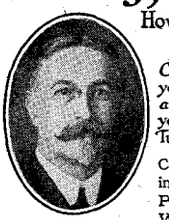

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THE RAINBOW IN THE FINANCIAL CLOUDS (*Continued*)

without discomfort and distress, the war debt under which we labor. Upon the relation of capital to prosperity volumes might be written. My own opinion is that the waste of capital is almost as great as the waste of labor. Some of us use too much capital or turn it over too slowly. Others do not have enough and pay extravagant prices to make up the deficiency when their need is acute.

All of us waste capital by carrying an unnecessary amount of money in our pockets, tills, and other places where it is idle and unproductive. I was speaking to a company of ninety men in Dallas, Texas, a month ago. At my request, they counted up the money they had with them. It amounted to nearly $2,700, almost $30 each. None of them required anything like such an amount, for nearly all their purchases were made on credit. I told them so, and pointed out that they ought to put the money in bank and so help to relieve the scarcity of credit of which they and every one else in Texas was complaining.

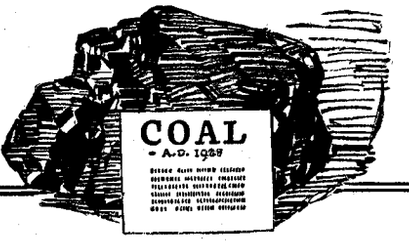
And then there is the waste of capital that results from keeping eight billions of gold tied up in idleness as bank reserves. Our Federal Reserve banks alone hold two billions of gold as a reserve. If it were in circulation, it would earn at least one hundred millions a year in interest, to say nothing of the stimulus to business that it would furnish.

I know that the belief that the banks ought to keep a gold reserve is so sacrosanct to some that it seems almost blasphemous to question it, but we shall some day come to understand that wealth-producing or consumable property is the only reserve worth having, and that the value of gold is traditionary rather than real. That we have made some progress in this direction is indicated by the fact that we have sold twenty-five billion Liberty Bonds without providing that a dollar of gold reserve shall be held against them. We insist, nevertheless, that the Federal Reserve banks shall keep forty per cent in gold against the three and a half billions of Federal Reserve notes outstanding.

There are many other ways in which capital is wasted or inefficiently employed. Taxation, Government expenditure, and an unwillingness to insure are some of them. Just to touch on insurance. Every one realizes that he ought to insure his life for the benefit of his family and his property against destruction by fire, but most men are so neglectful of this duty that the insurance companies have to employ agents to whom they pay hundreds of millions yearly to persuade people to insure themselves. In the fire insurance business alone the resulting increase in the cost of the indemnity provided is about $250,000,000 a year, which could be saved if insurance were obligatory.

In the life insurance business the waste of capital from the same cause is of course much larger, but I have not had time to calculate it. Then there is the unnecessary fire waste due to carelessness. No one knows exactly what it is. Some say $200,000,000, but we shall probably be well within the mark in assuming that our insurance companies could save a billion dollars a year if insurance were obligatory and unnecessary fire losses were avoided.

Of our waste of transportation we ought to be ashamed. Why, I know, and I expect you know, of a certain article that makes



There was once a substance called coal

It doesn't take a Jules Verne to imagine the time when our present-day fuel will be gone.

But there is nothing frightful in the prospect. Already the world's engineering brains have cast ahead and discovered a new fuel in rain drops and dew fall—water power.

Nor is this source of power a hazy dream of the future. It's here.

In California, for example, 942,000 hydro-electric horsepower are right now turning wheels, lighting cities and harvesting crops.

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It is to the other eighty-five per cent we must look against the day when coal and oil are museum curiosities.

Just how soon hydro-electric development will come to any community must depend on local conditions—such as how long the coal supply there can advantageously compete with water power.

But in the many places where coal is scarcely to be had, sane common-sense thinking about the relative economy of water power will hasten its coming—to the common good.

We should all understand that water power is not the interest of any particular business—that it is not a political issue, but a great economic one which affects us all.

So its support must come from the people, whose money will be needed to finance it. And rightly so.

Conservation of our national resources is one of the first benefits of water power development. The preservation of forests, the avoidance of floods, the irrigation of arid lands are part and parcel of this program.

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THE RAINBOW IN THE FINANCIAL CLOUDS (*Continued*)

the Middle West in the course of its fabrication. Doubtless there are many others. We ship Southern cotton to Massachusetts, and back to Texas in the form of manufactured goods. The Western paper mills ship paper to the East and the Eastern paper mills send their paper to the West.

The iron ore that is brought from Duluth to Cleveland goes back to Minnesota in countless different forms, and probably one-third of our railway tonnage consists of articles whose transportation would be unnecessary if we could relocate our factories scientifically.

Of the need of greater intelligence and intelligent economy and expenditure I hardly need speak. It is so obvious that it requires no demonstration, though it may require much study.

My point is that the present depression in business and every depression that has ever occurred is largely due to waste—to the waste of war, which is, I think, largely avoidable, to the waste of mistaken or ignorant speculation, to the waste of material, of labor, of capital, and to unintelligent economy and expenditure.

If, from a close study of the rainbow that I believe to be discerned in the clouds that now overhang the world of business, we can discover how to reduce this waste, the hard times will speedily be ended and the winter of our discontent will soon be made glorious by the sun of a greater and more substantial prosperity than we have ever known.

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Lois Weber, America's greatest woman producer and director.

Rob Wagner, motion picture writer for Saturday Evening Post.

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5000 New-Story Ideas for Photoplays

(*This figure does not include material needed for religious, commercial and educational films*)

This year, scores of new motion picture writers will be developed. Many of them will be men and women who never wrote a line for publication. They will be people with story-ideas who are willing to learn in what form producers want them submitted. $100 to $500 is being paid for comedies; $250 to $2,000 for five-reel dramatic scripts. This dearth in photoplays opens a wonderful opportunity for *you*.

A little over 2 years ago the photoplay famine began. Producers are now searching the country for new writers who know the technique of motion picture story-writing. Few can come to Los Angeles to learn. A plan for home study had to be devised. So Frederick Palmer (formerly staff writer of Keystone, Fox Triangle and Universal), assembled a corps of experts who built a plan of study which new writers could master through correspondence. It brings the studio to you. It tells you in clear, interesting language the fundamental principles necessary to market your *ideas*.

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For those who are really interested in this great new opportunity we have prepared a book, "The Secret of Successful Photoplay Writing." It lays before you the Palmer Course and service in greater detail. If you have any story-telling ability, you owe it to yourself to write for this book. Remember that many photoplaywrights have never written a line for periodicals. Producers want outline plots written from a knowledge of their specific needs.

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RESIDENT secretary, companion, or chaperon. Educated American woman, speaks French and German fluently, knows music, wishes position in South, or will travel. Address Apartment 6 West, 12 W. 92d St., New York City.

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CULTURED woman, Christian, desires position as useful companion to lady, or assist with housekeeping where servants are kept. City, country, or travel. Highest credentials

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BY THE WAY

An example of the extreme democracy of present-day conditions in Russia is given in George Lansbury's "What I Saw in Russia:" "One night I suddenly said that I would like to go to the theater. We asked our interpreter to ring up and try to get us seats. He came back beaming; we were to have the Czar's box at the national theater. So off we went, only on arrival to discover that a couple of working-class families had got there before us and we had to be content with the next box."

Advertisement writers are usually meticulous to a degree and know what they want when they prepare their copy. Sometimes they make mistakes, according to a writer in the "American Printer," but want their copy followed just the same. He cites an instance: An advertiser's copy read: "A few ladies' waists, just a might soiled." This was changed to "mite" by the compositor. The advertising man rushed in when he saw this in print and had it changed back to "might." He reasoned thus to the astonished printer: "A mite," he said, "is something you find on hens, not on ladies' waists!"

The sagacious countryman sometimes delights in "putting one over" on the alert city visitor, and occasionally makes a retort to which there is no rejoinder. An example from "Harper's:" One Saturday evening three Boston men arrived at an ancient seaport in New England. "What a desolate country!" one of them exclaimed as they drove to the solitary hotel. "We certainly have come to the jumping-off place this time. I don't believe we can even get a Sunday paper in this place. Can we, driver?" "Wal, not to-night!" the driver drawled.

The Piedmont and Northern Railway is one of the Southern roads that are "onto their job" of unloading freight cars, according to the "Railway Age." Fifty-seven cars loaded with automobiles recently arrived at its yard in Charlotte, North Carolina. A specially contrived derrick picked off the automobiles at the rate of about one every two minutes, and the fifty-seven cars were, it is stated, all unloaded and returned within twenty-four hours.

"When General Grant was proposed for a second term as President of the United States, the cry of 'Cæsarism' was raised." So reads an article in the December "Atlantic." This should read *third* term, a subscriber writes, and reminds us of the famous "306" delegates to the Republican National Convention in 1880 (after General Grant had been out of the Presidential office for four years and was again proposed as a candidate for President) who stuck by Grant till the thirty-sixth ballot. On that ballot James A. Garfield, who had not a single vote on the first ballot and only one on the second, received a majority of the votes and became the Presidendential nominee of the Republicans.

People of modest means who shop in Fifth Avenue stores sometimes wonder at the expensive articles seen there. An observing citizen recently reported that in one ultra-fashionable shop jeweled mesh bags could be had for $1,400 *up*, and hat pins for from $4,000 to $5,000. Do the

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